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## Europe's Muslims get their guidance from Cologne

Cologne has become the religious and political centre of Europe's Muslims. What the Cologne Imam says goes in Switzerland as it does in Sweden.

The Islamic Cultural Centre is in a backyard warehouse in one of Cologne's less attractive residential areas. It is at the same time the largest organisation of non-Christian aliens in Western Europe.

West Germany alone has more than 1.2m Turks, often living in sub-standard housing.

There are about 500 Islamic prayer houses or mosques in this country, though exact figures are unavailable.

But the number of branches of the Cultural Centre is known. In Germany alone there are 155, another 32 are spread throughout Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France and Austria — all of them controlled from the Cologne headquarters.

While detractors call the Cultural Centre a snakepit of fascist propaganda, a front organisation of anti-democratic rightist parties and a centre of reactionary indoctrination of Turkish children, Cologne's chief Imam, Harun Reşit Tivîoglu, staunchly maintains that his organisation only serves to spread the Prophet's word throughout the world.

Either way, there is a jarring note to the sermons at the Cologne warehouse mosque as more than 1,000 believers listen to the Friday prayers, closely packed, shoulder to shoulder.

The Imam works himself into a frenzy, shaking his fists and raising his voice to the point where it breaks on occasion.

The observer, even if he does not understand Turkish, makes out such words as "Communism" and "Zionism". There can be little doubt as to the adjectives that go with these words. They are clearly curses.

Another word that everybody can understand is "Afghanistan". Later the observer learns that the Imam spoke of the massacre of true believers in that country.

Towards the end of the sermon, he calls for an "Islamic Turkey".

Yet the Imam adamantly maintains that, in accordance with the statutes, there are no party politics in the Cultural Centre and the mosques. He probably means to put the emphasis on "party". In any event, he adds: "We only gather here to pray."

True, life here is permeated by Islamic faith — here and in all the other mosques in Europe.

Even though Friday is a working day, the prayer houses and mosques are crammed. This is even more so on days when a public holiday falls on a Friday. The crush on these days is such that the faithful have to squat among the desks in the various offices and even in the courtyard.

They sit in exact rows, facing the prayer niche which has been aligned with Mecca. To eliminate all possibility of mistakes, tapes have been drawn across the carpets to ensure the exact direction towards Mecca because any deviation would invalidate the prayer.

An invalid prayer, on the other hand, would violate religious commandments and close the gates to Paradise.

The Koran does not impose any prayer duty on women. As a result, there is

no woman present at the Friday prayers. But on Sundays they come through a side door and gather in a special corner set aside for them.

A passage in what might be called the Islamic catechism states: "The Holy Koran has caused the world's greatest revolution and is the only salvation for mankind. The Koran is the source of sanctity, of light, of science and of divine guidance."

This absolutistic attitude of Islam has been fully embraced by the militants of the Cultural Centre. Every action of an orthodox Muslim is strictly regulated by the Koran.

There can be no doubt that the Cologne organisation is the keenest spearhead in the fight against infidels who have strayed from the path.

"This path which I have showed you points straight ahead," the chief Imam quotes the Koran. He then speaks of departures that lead straight to hell. It is obvious to him who the people are who will roam there: the Communists. But for the Imam even the German Trade Union Federation is on the fringes of enemy territory. He says: "The atheists and the left are not only enemies of Islam but of Christians and Jews as well. But even so, we are concerned only with our religious tasks and take no action against infidels. What we do want, however, is that if the infidels are to enjoy freedom we be given the same freedom to pursue our religious beliefs."

Fair enough; but the fact is that there are no barriers to the institutionalisation of Islamic faith through the Cultural Centre.

The organisation now has 100,000 card-carrying members (paying DM10 a month), and it has now spread its wings across Western Europe to include all those who pray to Allah.

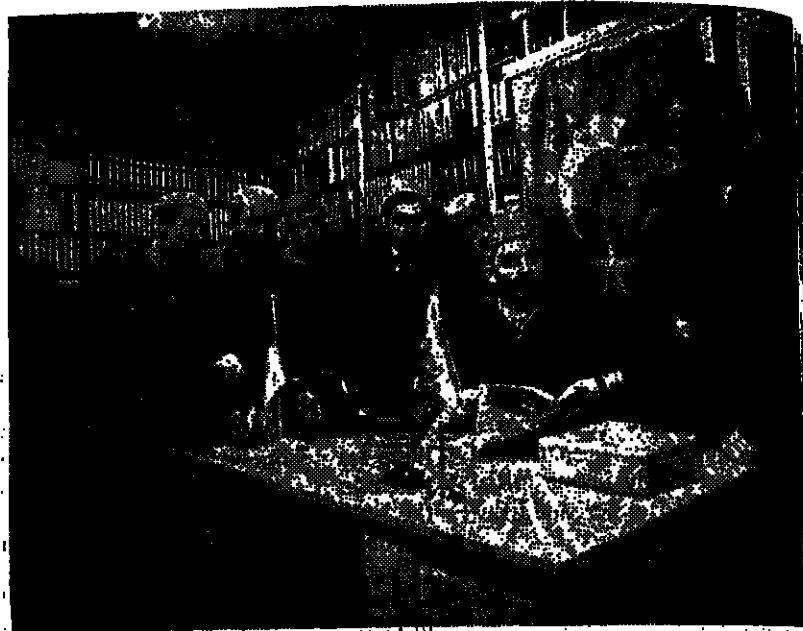
The statutes of the Centre make it quite clear that its function is to act as a religious Muslim umbrella organisation. So centralised is the organisation that the top men of all branches are appointed by the Cologne head office.

Still, the Cultural Centre denies that it is controlled by Turkey's extreme rightist parties. "We are against fascism as well," says the Imam.

It is this concentration of power that has made the organisation so effective since its founding in 1973.

"We are more successful than the leftists and this is what makes our left fellow countrymen so nervous," says the organisation's honorary secretary, Polat, a friendly man from Istanbul who has been working in Cologne for 16 years. Of course, it is not only card-carrying members who go to the Centre and its mosques.

They also bring with them about one million visitors a year. Every prayer house has an honorary Imam and a workers' Ulema who acts as Koran teacher. But during the month of fasting, Ramadan, some 160



Audience with the Imam in Cologne.

(Photo: Rost)

Islamic clergymen are flown in from Turkey. They fan out to all parts of Germany. Some 15 Imams are employed by the regional headquarters of the organisation.

It is in keeping with Islamic belief that the chief Imam in Cologne, an employee himself, acts as an employer. This is so because, according to Islamic scriptures, only the most outstanding personality in any community can be an Imam.

It is the chief Imam, rather than the chairman of the organisation, who provides information on the activities of individual members; in other words, the chief Imam as the most outstanding personality can recognise others of the same calibre.

The Imam must be honoured to the point where visitors to his office leave walking backwards.

It is not surprising that the influence that emanates from the Cologne backyard has become a thorn in the flesh for leftist and liberal groups in Europe. But none of their actions have managed to halt the growing power of the Prophet's heirs.

Cologne's Muslims have vowed to abide by the German Constitution. Detractors have been unable to prove anything to the contrary and their contentions have so far remained mere suspicion.

All attacks on the Koran schools have proved futile. In fact, Turks opposing the organisation have only made its followers stick together even more closely and embrace prejudices more fiercely.

There can be no doubt that the Koran schools impose an enormous stress on Turkish children — a stress which German children are not subjected to.

Young Turks have less time to play because, on top of their normal schooling, they also attend Koran schools,



Instruction class on the Koran

usually at daybreak or late in the evening.

More than 11,000 Turkish children in this country alone attend the courses of the Cultural Centre. The Centre claims that they do so on weekends, and then only for two days after the hostages were taken in the American embassy in Tehran.

Time and again he grasped at each and every glimmer of hope on the horizon, so much so that even the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* felt obliged to compare his performance with theatre of the absurd.

It is hardly for us to blame Mr Carter for a degree of patience no other predecessor of his would have been likely to show.

But a disturbing note is sounded by reports from Washington that America's allies advised the President not to step up sanctions even after Ayatollah Khomeini's cynical comment that there was "no further room for an honourable solution" to the hostage affair.

One of their arguments is said to have been that Iran might call on the Soviet Union for assistance. There are

It is the parents' duty to give children religious instruction. This is not only in Islam but in any other religion. And in the public discussion of the controversial Koran courses people overlook the fact that Islamic religion is guaranteed by the Constitution.

Of course, outsiders have no way of knowing what the children are learning beyond instruction in the Koran. Says the chief Imam: "Our children have kindergartens because we take the children off the streets."

The streets, as he sees it, are the dangers of a world that is alien to the beliefs of orthodox Muslims. As a strictly Islamic organisation, only natural for the Cologne Centre to subjugate everything to Islamic law and behaviour.

The Book says: "Islam is the religion of all people; it is the last religion; it is the religion of the intellect and science; it is the religion of morality; the religion of peace and of order; life itself for those who believe in it."

Those who see Islam in this need no other name for politics. Wolfgang Ivers (PhA 30 April)

# The German Tribune

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## The West faces up to Iran challenge

Many accusations may be levelled at President Carter. But one of them is not that he has prematurely or without due consideration decided to commit US prestige to sanctions against Iran.

Mr Carter has, on the contrary, risked forfeiting US prestige by playing Khomeini's cat-and-mouse game for 156 days after the hostages were taken in the American embassy in Tehran.

Time and again he grasped at each and every glimmer of hope on the horizon, so much so that even the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* felt obliged to compare his performance with theatre of the absurd.

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Two reasons why this outlook is disturbing: —

1. The warning that the Soviet Union might enter the scene implies that America ought to jeopardise the lives of US citizens and submit to continued humiliation mainly because the West on no account can afford to risk direct Soviet intervention in the Iranian crisis. Have matters come to this pass?

2. Mr Carter has in any case chosen a catalogue of moves the political purpose of which lies in their public demonstration. In effect they will accomplish little more than going firm on a state of affairs that already exists.

President Carter has nonetheless crossed the Rubicon from passive suffering to active liberation of the hostages. In an election year he can no longer af-

ford to abandon his objective until it has been fully accomplished.

Defence Secretary Harold Brown kept military options open. He was probably referring to a sea blockade, and that is doubtless what Washington was referring to when it said the United States might be obliged to resort to riskier moves if its allies failed to impose economic sanctions with sufficient rigour.

That means America's allies will no longer be able to get away with mere verbal solidarity as in their joint diplomatic bid to bring about the release of the hostages (not that the notes were such a bad idea in themselves either).

For Western Europe and Japan it must be clear that next to no-one in Washington seriously expects the United States might succeed by economic pressure alone in securing the hostages' release without effective backing from its allies.

The more half-heartedly they imposed economic sanctions the more likely America must be to resort to military means, such as a sea blockade.

This in its turn would come closer to the threshold of a risk of Soviet intervention in the Iran crisis. In other words, the situation about which Europeans have warned the President in their own interest would occur all the earlier.

Moscow has naturally taken precautions to be able to take appropriate action should this eventually materialise. Intelligence reports claim Soviet military facilities have been built on Af-

## Schmidt makes an analogy as crisis barometer climbs

Helmut Schmidt's gloomy comparison of the present world situation with that of summer 1914, a few weeks before World War I broke out, may well have come as an unpleasant surprise to many.

But it can only have taken entirely by surprise those who had not been closely following the course of world affairs in the months and weeks beforehand.

This is not to say that the Third World War is just around the corner, but the crisis barometer is steadily rising.

Even the Chancellor's assumption that this time the process of escalation would take longer than it did 66 years ago need not necessarily hold good for the immediate future.

The US National Olympic Committee's decision to boycott the Moscow Olympics has landed the ball firmly in Europe's court, while President Carter's announcement that he had set a deadline by which he expected America's allies to toe the line in Europe should prove to have expedited matters too.

There can be no estimating the con-

sequences of Olympic boycott at this stage. Were it merely to lead to the Olympics in future being held in some other form, or not at all, this would possibly turn out to be the lesser evil.

The political repercussions first and foremost would certainly be anyone's guess. In the circumstances European national Olympic committees might well find it easier to fob off responsibility on to their governments.

Right now governments can merely recommend following in America's footsteps. This is particularly true of Bonn, which is least able to play any special role of its own.

The situation is much the same when it comes to Mr Carter's second ultimatum. European boycott measures against Iran have assumed more of a function of demonstrating at least to others how determined NATO is to hold its own.

But there can be no mistaking the risk of the West's real objectives, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the freeing of the hostages in Tehran, gradually being lost from sight.

(Städtische Zeitung, 14 April 1980)



### Assignment in Lisbon

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) and the Luxembourg Foreign Minister, Gaston Thorn, in Lisbon for the Council of Europe meeting this month. The Ministerial Committee of the Council passed resolutions asking for immediate release of the hostages in Tehran and for the Soviet Union to pull out of Afghanistan straight away. (Photo: dpa)

han territory hard by the border with Iran.

A propaganda campaign against "Washington's mailed fist" at the entrance to the Persian Gulf is in full swing. The arrival of US warships is made out to be a genuine threat to Iran.

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is cited as prosecution witness for a legitimate Soviet right to buy oil in the Middle East. In this way the Kremlin seeks to suggest that it and Europe share common interests.

Europe and Japan cannot for a

moment afford to forget that this political trench warfare involves a region that includes their economic lifeline.

This is precisely why they cannot afford to succumb to the temptation to patiently play for time and hesitate in the way they did in Afghanistan's case.

The time is over when Mr Carter could afford to play it by ear and wangle his way through. It is over as far as Europe is concerned too.

First, it is not enough to pillory the occupation of the US embassy in Tehran and the taking of hostages as a breach of international law.

This is the very breach that on no account must be tolerated because the act of barbarism in Tehran sets a precedent on whether or not Yasser Arafat's PLO terror methods gain acceptance as *ersatz* war.

What happened to the United States in Tehran could happen to any other civilised nation anywhere else in the world; Bonn has more than enough experience of its own from a terrorist raid on its embassy in Stockholm.

Second, Mr Carter's allies cannot leave him in the lurch after he has shown such endless patience.

Assuming for a moment that he was not to succeed in the foreseeable future to end the hostages drama, America would stand pilloried as a toothless world power unable to defend the lives of its citizens even in a country such as Iran.

The Europeans would then be able to wave goodbye to America as a protecting power. They would be subject to each and every Soviet pressure (or worse) and equally unable to look after their own vital interests in the Middle East.

The impression gained in Bonn is that the Federal government is prepared

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## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### Clear signs of change in the old order

Consider the state of the Western world this spring and you will hardly fail to see the symptoms of a decline, although the cause is not readily apparent.

Despite the oil price cartel everything is running more or less smoothly on the economic front, and certainly better than in other parts of the world.

Nowhere does mass prosperity seem seriously in jeopardy. Political institutions are working. Stability of a kind prevails everywhere, although it may not everywhere have been adopted as a political substantive as it has been in this country.

Everything is much the same as it ever was, yet at the same time everything is different.

The political texture of the West as it has existed since the 50s no longer does exist. Nato still does exist and is even laboriously engaged in decisions to step up arms programmes. There are still any number of organisations set up to control and regulate the economy of the West.

But it all no longer seems to have a common frame of reference: the conviction of sharing interests and being bound by a common destiny, of being obliged to pursue joint policies and to aim at joint objectives for the future of the West.

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the West's inability to frame a joint answer combine to demonstrate that there is no longer any basis for wholly Western policies.

America points an accusing finger at its allies for not replying in public because they are reluctant to admit what they think of the West's so-called leading power.

In France and Japan the readiness to subordinate oneself to the United States was never very marked, while Britain was only prepared to toe the line in return for a special relationship with Washington.

In West Germany the political generation was readier to oblige, but only as long as ties based on protection and obedience appeared to function.

In 1953, the year of the popular uprising in East Germany, the United States did nothing. In 1956, the year of Poland and Hungary, it was the same. In 1961 America again failed to act when the Berlin Wall was built.

In 1968 it was the same story in Czechoslovakia, but in all these cases advocates of *realpolitik* could argue that they were merely East bloc domestic affairs and unsuitable for Western intervention.

But many began to have their first doubts, especially when every outbreak of Soviet aggression was countered by offers of détente.

When South Vietnam had to be left in the lurch left-wing moralists could hardly fail to welcome the change, but not even they could feel it to be particularly confidence-inspiring.

Spain and Portugal were left to Europe to cope with, Angola and Mozambique to the Marxists, a second Cuban crisis was diagnosed but called off when the Soviet Union showed signs of resistance.

The Shah was lent a kind of assistance that did not exactly consolidate America's reputation for reliability. It was, let

us say, an imperial version of leaving others in the lurch.

Besides, America's post-Watergate moral rearmament went hand in hand with political and military disarmament, the destruction of the intelligence services, a reduction in the fighting strength of the armed forces and a distrust of US power as a means of foreign policy.

Last not least, a pious President Carter has succeeded in gaining neither the affection nor the confidence of his fellow-leaders.

No-one will speak the truth and admit that not one Western government wants to stake its survival, and the status of its country, on President Carter.

In the corridors of power in Western Europe the prospect of a further four years with Mr Carter in the White House is viewed uneasily, yet no-one sets any great store by the last of the Kennedy or the Republican 70-year-old Hollywood Western hero either.

But it is all very well for Europe to lament that 200m Americans can field nothing better in the way of candidates and that in recent years the United States has done nothing but yield ground.

Mr Carter's post-Afghanistan sanctions policy may be no more than morally effective at best, but laments such as these cannot even paper over Europe's own lack of perspective and enfeeblement of will power.

Would European governments have consented to America countering the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with a US attack on Cuba?

They have all long since settled down to relaxation of tension in a divided world and opted for an anxious twofold strategy of Nato plus détente (or vice-versa).

For those who can afford it this means, in private life, a combination of

making money from trade with the East bloc and buying a ranch in Arizona, or something of the sort.

In political terms Western Europe is fast approaching quasi-neutral status between the two superpowers.

Finlandisation is the tag frequently used to describe the trend, but it is misleading; it would probably be better to talk of Swedenisation.

This is a more accurate indication of the status quo, reducing risks, stability of what cannot solely be stabilised by means of circumspection.

The West is ruled by relatively young and physically stable people who are nonetheless members of a political gerontocracy.

They have never been touched by as much as a whisper of a new idea on how to run their countries or how to improve the lot of mankind.

All they aim for is maintenance of the status quo, reducing risks, stability of what cannot solely be stabilised by means of circumspection.

The West has lacked a target ever since it renounced the rollback of communism and détente turned out to be no more than a system of partial moratoriums for peaceful use mainly by the Soviet Union.

Those who have nothing else at all in mind are always given to talking in terms of peace.

Johannes Gross  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 5 April 1980)

## Fait, but not yet accompli, for Russia in Afghanistan



Afghanistan is less in the news. In certain political circles in Europe there is no mistaking the furtive impatience to file and forget the whole ink-some affair.

The Soviet Union may not yet have entirely succeeded in ensuring a *fait accompli* in the Hindu Kush, thereby providing advocates of détente at any price with an alibi for a fresh phase of appeasement of Moscow.

This is partly due to the atmosphere of the US Presidential election campaign in which candidates are hoping to make it to home base on a wave of national outrage.

It is also the work of undiminished resistance fighters, the Afghan mujahideen, who are not going to allow themselves to be forced to capitulate to either material or technological superiority.

It is characteristic of the dishonesty of a certain section of the West European media that they continue to profess a greater sense of outrage about events in Iran than about the tragedy that is engulfing the Afghan people.

True, the position of the US embassy hostages in Tehran is growing more intolerable by the day, but in terms of the Middle East and Central Asia taken as a whole the hostages are dreadful though it may sound, a mere sideshow.

They must not blind us to the fact that in Iran a nationalist, Islamic revolution has taken place that although it has set its propaganda sights primarily on "US imperialism" is in the long term a much more serious threat to Soviet policies in the region.

In Afghanistan, on the other hand, it is a case of naked Soviet aggression, and it is growing increasingly likely that progressives are signally failing to react to the violation of a defenceless, non-aligned country for the wrong reason.

The mullahs and pious Muslims who have joined the resistance under the green banner of the Prophet are difficult to pigeonhole in terms of neo-Marxist categories, so their cause is quietly dropped.

The Moscow Olympic boycott was proclaimed by President Carter without either consulting or even informing his European allies beforehand.

But this impropriety ought not to disguise the fact that the move in itself is both good and effective even though the absence of major Western competitors may in no way induce the Soviet public to rebel against their present masters.

Yet the boycott would doubtless sound a clarion call, putting paid to a collective act of homage to the Kremlin leaders.

At the same time Mr Carter must not be misled into believing that by sounding this Olympic clarion call, rant by discord as it already is, he has done his duty as leader of the Western alliance.

It is well-nigh grotesque to recall that only two years ago pro-Soviet splinter groups took over power in a Kabul coup

that succeeded only with assistance from the Soviet intelligence vice.

It is even weirder to remember anti-communist resistance fighters still reduced to fighting the Soviet tanks and helicopter with museum piece rifles.

Just imagine the Kremlin granted the opportunity of discommodifying the United States to a comparable extent anywhere in the world.

The Red partisans would long have had the use of the latest in piercing artillery and Sam 7 missiles not Cuban auxiliaries.

The Soviet Union, it has lately argued in the West, was prompted in Afghanistan by a defensive edge.

Fifty million Soviet Muslims already being reminded by Ayatollah Khomeini's Shiite revolution of their national and religious identity.

### Change of mind on Muelem question

Were Islam to defeat Communism, Kabul they would inevitably follow the footsteps of an irresistible, leftist uprising.

For years Moscow, including West German embassies in the Soviet capital, held the line that the Soviet Union did not have a Muslim problem.

Suddenly, for reasons of opposition, the problem is flashed on to the brightest of colour, with the Central Asia, the soft underbelly of the Soviet Union, has fast become a hotbed of trouble.

Defensive considerations doubtless play a certain part, an important one even, in the Russian move in the Hindu Kush. But in politics and strategy concepts such as offensives and defences complement each other.

Attack is the best form of defence, a time-honoured term that is as true in Central Asia as it is for the Soviet Union anywhere else.

From an outpost in Afghanistan Russians will certainly be in a position to destabilise an divide the once fragile neighbours, Pakistan and Iran, backing internal dissent without committing themselves.

In Pakistan's case this development

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### The German Tribune

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## HOME AFFAIRS

### Six months before poll, parties have yet to take up clear positions



The general election is only six months away, but the country hardly seems in the grip of election fever. Home policy debates in the widest sense of the term are non-existent. There are no hotly-disputed legislative initiatives. In foreign policy there are God knows plenty of subjects for discussion and disagreement but neither government nor Opposition have taken up clear positions. Here, too, the election campaign is confined to cautious suggestions that political opponents are doing everything wrong.

There is an explanation for the barrenness of the home policy debate. The government, the SPD and the FDP, are defending a narrow majority. The SPD is tied to the FDP by necessity, the FDP to the SPD by a no longer free decision.

One of the main propaganda achievements of the Schmidt government has been to diffuse an aura of authority and certainty of success making many forget just how small its majority is.

Given this distribution of power, both sides believe it is risky to make any great movement. The Opposition cannot abandon hopes of ousting the present government and any decisive stance could lead to a landslide which, however small, could decisively reduce the ground under its feet. This is why the government is so desperately trying to talk down the connection between the Afghanistan crisis and its own détente policy. The Opposition does not state its position clearly. Some fear that they might lose the votes of a few thousand voters who would like things to go on as before. Others are worried that for precisely the same reason, they might lose a decisive increase in votes.

In the meantime, home policy continues as a silent, subterranean current. It is a form of politics which cannot be grasped by traditional journalistic means, always seeking an "event". For example, equalisation continues unimpeded. It takes advantage of the unholy trinity of inflation, progressive income tax and occasional inflation pushes income up to illusory heights tax reductions (the next promised for 1981).

The state creams off billions thanks to tax progression but the periodical reductions benefit only those with small and medium sized incomes. Here it is often forgotten that it was inflation that created "big earners."

It is quite natural that the SPD, in accordance with its goals, should pursue such policies. But the CDU/CSU merely speaks non-committally of "rewarding achievement" without saying how.

Appointments according to party card are being made more and more in the civil service and the law. The CDU hopes for crumbs from the rich man's table, is caught in traditional views, suffers from repressed desires — and says nothing about it.

As a result, our parties are running frantically on the spot, on a conveyor

belt moving silently onwards. The FDP plays its part too: it is running, perhaps more frantically than the others, but also on the spot.

Its home policies include more attention to the prevention of the abuse of computerised data and abolition of some of the tough measures introduced at the height of terrorist activity. These moves are ineffectual, but that is part of the plan. This is a pleasant division of labour between the SPD and the FDP. Nothing really happens, but the SPD appears to its more conservative voters to be putting a brake on the FDP. The FDP is sure to tell its voters, well-heeled and obsessed with the idea of progress, that the political scene would be dead without the FDP.

Caution and circumspection are the order of the day, the parties more concerned it seems with not losing than with winning votes, so that at times they seem like escape artists who have forgotten their trick. This vacuum means that the struggle of political personalities is bound to be writ large, a fact which the parties have just confirmed by signing an agreement on the fair conduct of the election campaign. The rules confirm that the fight will be a kind of shadow-boxing. There will be plenty to see later. The experienced showmasters on both sides now how quickly sensations are forgotten. So at the moment

they are training before select audiences only.

When politics is conducted in this manner, it only attracts people who are interested in this kind of politics.

Or could it be that politics are like this because they are made by people like this?

The leading politicians of all parties live so resolutely in a world of given facts that they could not, even if they wanted to, question the motto of the nation after the war, reconstruction, affluence and superfluity: that motto is that everything should do on as before.

### Motto that favours the Government

This motto favours the government, as long as it can prevent the electorate seeing that the unchangeable is indeed changing slowly but dramatically.

Whether or not there will be a change of then depends only on moods. The aim of all parties is not to fall victim to the voter's changes of moods.

That is why there is no debate about home policy in West Germany at the moment.

Friedrich Karl Fromme

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 April 1980)

## Battle of ideas to win back the young voter

In recent years young voters and large numbers of first-time voters have supported the SPD, though with some reservations. But the SPD can no longer be so sure of this support since the Baden-Württemberg Land elections, in which large numbers of young voters voted for the Ecological Party. And if this trend continues, it could mean the SPD will be ousted from government, a thought which sends shivers down the party's spine.

But the SPD, like the FDP and the CDU, has no idea how to bring these dropouts back into the fold of the established parties.

The swing to the Ecologists cannot be explained by saying that the established parties have not paid enough attention to young voters. Since the shock of the student revolts of the 1960s politicians of all parties have realised the importance of wooing this age-group. The Social Democrats, who possibly owe their present position to this movement, have never eschewed discussion.

However, a party such as the SPD, especially when it is in government, has to examine proposals in terms of whether they can be translated into practical politics. In a democracy, whoever ignores the truth that politics is the art of the possible will rapidly lose influence and thus his chance of putting his ideas into practice.

There is of course an element of healthy striving for power in this thinking. The young supporters of the Ecologists

however seem to find this thinking alien. And the programme they passed at their recent party conference in Saarbrücken is correspondingly unrealistic. It is a mixture of vapid self-righteousness and small-time naivety. The ecologists demand, for instance, that "every individual involved should be able to decide what is produced, when and how." Such a rule might be alright in a small commune but applied to a huge industrial society it would open the door for chaos.

Equally fatuous is the "realisation" that a defence budget is no longer necessary because the Ecologists want to transform East and West Europe into a no-weapons zone. Their outright rejection of atomic energy is just plain irresponsible.

There is no doubt that the established parties have too long uncritically believed in the doctrine of progress which regarded everything as possible. But it would be disastrous if one illusion were to be replaced by another.

It seems that the young voters who have given their allegiance to the Ecologists are neither willing nor capable of criticising themselves and their often nebulous ideas. This is why they cannot argue their cases in the established parties. This uncompromising attitude is what makes them different from the protest movement of the 1960s.

Then, the young left realised after a while that as an Extra-Parliamentary

## State leader of CDU is taken ill

Heinrich Köppler, leader of the CDU in North Rhine Westphalia, deserves the sympathy of everyone in this country. This applies to his friends and his foes. His recent heart attack is further evidence of how tough a business politics is. And it is also a warning.

This shock will give many pause, but the resolutions they make today will be forgotten tomorrow. Everyone hopes against hope that he will not be affected. Because politics goes on, harder than ever. No amount of sympathy can alter the fact that the North Rhine Westphalia elections are on 11 May and their significance is national.

Köppler must now convalesce, but his party the CDU must win the election.

The question must therefore be asked what effect Köppler's illness will have on the result of the election. Köppler himself realises this better than most. He is the Opposition leader, not Biedenkopf. He can win votes where Biedenkopf might lose them. Biedenkopf is more aggressive but also more vulnerable.

So the CDU must now enter the thick of the election campaign without its leader. Köppler's fate lies first and foremost in the hands of the doctors.

Although the SPD/FDP will not make capital out of Köppler's physical condition, there is no doubt that it is a political fact. And his friends know this too.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 April 1980)

Opposition it could do little more than hold demonstrations. Because they wanted to have a say in politics, many of them then began the "long march through the institutions" and many of them joined the SPD. The Ecologists of 1980 do not wish to go this way, at least not yet.

This means that they are bound to fail politically. As a party they need a programme based on reality and not an unrealistic wish. But Ecologists who took reality into account would no longer be Ecologists. Many young voters are fascinated precisely by the fact that the Ecologists confine themselves to unrealistic slogans and the only thing they all have in common is protest against the established parties.

What unites the Ecologists is their anti attitude, their protest against the Bonn parties' political plans. The fact that these parties have learnt to make compromises because the problems are seldom as simple as young people imagine have stamped them in the eyes of the Ecologists as despicable administrators of an unacceptable system.

The Ecologists of the 1980s may in many respects be the heirs of the left of 1968. Their rigorism is greater than their predecessors'. Today, as then, radical rejection of compromise exercise a strong fascination on young people disgusted by the incestuousness of the Bonn parties, the nepotism and the hunt for office.

The parties ought to reflect on why the Ecologists reject them. They would profit little and risk much by trying to conform to those who do not wish to conform.

Ludwig Harms

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 April 1980)



## ■ THE LAW

## Frankfurt courts struggle to maintain reputation over war crimes

Frankfurt courts established a reputation for dealing with Nazi crimes during the Auschwitz trials. But this reputation is losing some of its lustre.

The city courts have won no laurels over the subsequent lot of Nazi trials. There was a debacle during a mass-murder hearing when the judges became embroiled in a row.

Now the Supreme Court has annulled the Frankfurt Court judgment in the Sobibor death camp trial.

In this trial, SS-Unterscharführer Hubert Gomerski was found guilty of abetting the murder of at least 15,000 Jews in the Sobibor camp in Poland.

After a trial of more than 3½ years, Gomerski, then 65, was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in 1977.

The Supreme Court annulled the judgment because Volker Schneider, presiding judge in the Sobibor trial, made an error in the choice of jurors. A main juror was unable to take part in the trial, so Schneider appointed an auxiliary juror instead of a complementary juror — contrary to the permanent ruling of Karlsruhe which 15 years ago annulled another Frankfurt Nazi judgment on the same grounds.

The Supreme Court has always been highly sensitive about the constitutionally indispensable institution of the statutory judge. The Supreme Court judges did not dispute that auxiliary juror housewife Frau Tögel would have been a juror even if all the legal technicalities had been fulfilled.

One of the jurors had to cry off during the trial, so that Frau Tögel would have sat on the jury in any event.

The ignorance of a presiding judge disregarding a Supreme Court ruling must have particularly irked Karlsruhe because its ruling has now led the Bundestag to introduce new legislation on the subject.

Judge Schneider insisted in vain on legal literature supporting his appointment of Frau Tögel to the jury. The Supreme Court had made up its mind and said it was impossible to regard the counter-argument as tenable.

### Iran crisis

Continued from page 1

to take action of various kinds, given sufficient time.

But with each passing day there is less hope of convincing Khomeini with methods less risky than the mailed fist that he must free the hostages.

If Europe is determined to avoid unforeseeable risk it has every reason for backing the US sanctions to the hilt, immediately, effectively and by every possible political and economic means at its command.

Political means ought, for instance, to mean making continued use of diplomatic ties rather than breaking them off, as America has understandably chosen to do.

This should certainly apply to the entire European Community, but more especially to Germany, France, Britain and Japan.

Wolfgang Hertz-Eichenrode

(Die Welt, 9 April 1980)

This means that the 200 days of the Sobibor trial were all wasted. More than 100 witnesses were called and the court travelled on several occasions to the USSR, Poland, the USA, Australia and Austria. More than a hundred witnesses were heard on these journeys, and the court even took a psychiatrist with it. Nasty tongues spoke of legal tourism and no one was surprised when the costs of the trial were put at DM3m.

This is not the only case in Frankfurt of taxpayers' money going down the drain in an expensive Nazi trial. Frankfurt courts will soon be holding a retrial of Walter Fasold, accused of abetting the murder of Jewish forced labourers while working as an engineer in Tschestochau in Poland.

And there will also be a retrial in the case of SS-Obersturmbahlführer Friedrich Paulus — again following a Supreme Court ruling.

Three trials, three blunders. What is wrong with the judges. "Human inadequacy" is the explanation of Rudolf Kuck, President of the Frankfurt Landgericht. Kuck rejects the suggestion that his judges might be making mistakes because of the pressure on them and the number of trials they have to deal with. Top judges regard an annulled Nazi trial as a private misfortune.

There has been a victim — judge Dietmar Kupke, who committed suicide when they tried to make him the scapegoat for the failure of the Fasold trial in 1974.

Ice-cold windwhipped rain and snow over the former concentration camp of Dachau as a macabre group marched off the camp square: old men in striped concentration camp uniform, with a black Z next to their prison number, women with black headscarves and golden chains, youngsters with wreaths and banners saying "End Discrimination."

Some of them sang the old German folk song *Lustig ist das Zigeunerleben* (Merry is the Gypsy's Life). They, their brothers or fathers once had to sing to the German staff at Dachau.

On this grey Good Friday the surviving gypsies — who call themselves Sinti — and their friends went to the Catholic Todesangst Christi chapel to cry out their fear.

Romani Rose of the Union of German Sinti Association said: "Every day we are humiliated, persecuted and exposed to repression by the authorities and the police in this country."

Police with alsatians and machine guns surround gypsy camp sites as if they were terrorist cells — on the tens of thousands of grounds that there has been a burglary somewhere and only gypsies could be responsible.

These gypsies came to Dachau to start a hunger strike and in particular to force Bavarian Interior Minister Georg Tandler to make "moral compensation."

They argue that the injustices done them today are largely due to the guidelines worked out by the Bavarian Land C.I.D. These guidelines were valid for all of West Germany.

Rose said that a Gypsy Police Centre was set up in Munich as long as 1809. This was later taken over by the Nazis and after 1945 and renamed Itinerants'

There had been disagreements between Presiding Judge Christel Forester and reporting Judge Kupke. Frau Forester asked to be relieved of the case, which had lasted just under two years and cost DM1m — the burial of a trial and a judge who wanted to rescue it.

What really caused the breakdown of the Fasold trial remains obscure. Kupke kept a diary of the trial but the legal authorities showed little interest in it.

Had Kupke put his finger on the sore by attacking the system of promotion, which forced judges not to admit they were overworked, driving them to the verge of exhaustion?

The legal authorities do not accept the criticism of the system of promotion. On the contrary: whoever asks the Landgericht president how errors by judges are to be avoided in future will be told: by a more efficient promotion policy. Only then can we be sure that major trials will only be chaired by judges with composure, experience and a high degree of legal expertise.

The Frankfurt Criminal Court will have plenty of opportunities to prove this argument. It had already received the documents for the new Sobibor trial. Presiding judge Johanna Dierks cannot yet say when this trial will be held.

She has spent the past five months presiding in the Astrid Proll trial and she has 18 jury trials coming up, including the Paulus trial. How can the judge, even with assistant judges of undisputed

competence, possibly prepare one of the biggest Nazi trials?

Theoretically, the whole thing can be made easy by judge reading out evidence from the first trial. This means sentence could be passed in three months.

But this would only be possible both sides agreed and the defence, intoxicated by the triumph of their successful appeal, are hardly likely to do. Lawyer Dieter Schweizer wants a completely new trial — if possible with the confrontation of the past, which the defence to a shameless act: it edged judge Schneider as being biased cause he had laid a wreath in Sob concentration camp.

It looks as if the Frankfurt court be trying Nazi cases for many years come. As in the debate on the state limitations last year, the question of sense of its all arises, this time in the case of Fasold and Gomerski, the accused not fear the trial. They want it. He were sentenced shortly after the we have spent over 29 years in prison, is fought for a new trial, in which the hope for acquittal and compensation.

State prosecutor Hans-Eberhard Kie has learnt from bitter experience that you have to "watch out like a lynx" technicalities which can lead to a breakdown of a trial. The warnings of admonitions of the state prosecutor were all in vain in autumn 1977 via president judge Hans Seipel opened the sixth Auschwitz trial against the Czerwinski and Josef Schmidt with one substitute judge and two substitute jurors.

If any of these should have to do the entire 2½ years of the trial will have been in vain. Norbert Appelt (Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 March 1980)

## Gypsies allege persecution and humiliation

Centre. The files on the gypsies, which the authorities claim were destroyed in 1970, are still in existence and are used by various authorities, says Rose.

Three former concentration camp inmates and seventeen other Sinti have now decided to go on hunger strike.

Jakob Bamberger was a victim of Nazi "survival experiments" in Dachau and had to drink nothing but sea-water for 18 days. He spent 49 months in prison but the authorities have given official recognition to only 12. And so he now had to live on a miserly monthly pension of DM480.

Frantz Wirbel got no compensation at all because he was on his travels when his case was being dealt with. Former hotel owner Braun had nine brothers and sisters in concentration camps who are still fighting to get compensation — like 90 per cent of the Sinti persecuted by the Gestapo.

In most cases the authorities found "no confirmation" that the gypsies (Itinerants) had been persecuted on racial grounds. (They are Aryans, after all). The post-war authorities often argued that gypsies had been taken into preventive custody by the Gestapo.

Romani Rose says: "Of course I cannot prove that 6m Jews and between 500,000 and 700,000 gypsies were killed in concentration camps during the war,

but I can prove that 13 of my relatives were killed."

Rose wrote to the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, a member of the Christian Social Union, asking him to take part in the eumenical ceremony and "then to set about starting the rehabilitation we have been demanding for months."

Until then Tandler had merely spoken of "slanders" with which the Sinti and harmed their own cause.

Among those who did come were representatives of organisations working for suppressed minorities, the chairman of the Association of Jewish Students and one Catholic and one Protestant clergyman. Pastor Markus Stoeltz said: "We are not here to give a religious aura to a moral and political act. This is not necessary."

He recalled the Danish king who wore the Star of David when the Jews were persecuted in his country. Stoeltz said: "We are waiting for politicians to come here and say 'this concerns us too.'"

Violinist Yehudi Menuhin stressed that what was at stake here was not just the cause of the Sinti but of all oppressed minorities: "Millions throughout the world have been forced to become gypsies."

The telegram of solidarity from Menuhin in London is one of many on the walls of Dachau concentration camp museum, where the 20 Sinti have set up camp, to protest for their rights and show visitors round a little exhibition.

Here we see excerpts from a German school textbook of 1980. One says that gypsies beat their wives, eat carrion and — of course — "steal chickens."

Karl Stankiewicz (Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 April 1980)

## ■ MIGRANTS

## Constant influx poses new problems for European governments

European nations are having to come to terms with a huge influx of migrants.

Hundreds of thousands of Algerians live in France. Almost 2m people in Britain came from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh or the West Indies, the last the descendants of African slaves.

In West Germany and West Berlin, there are hundreds of thousands of Turks, and they are now being joined by Pakistanis.

The organisers of this most recent wave of immigration have taken advantage of the Federal Republic of Germany's Laws on Political Asylum (Art. 16 of the Basic Law).

Then come the victims of political upheavals and wars in Asia and Africa (Vietnamese in France, Eritreans in little towns in Hesse and Württemberg, Cambodian children in the Black Forest).

A huge mosque near Regent's Park in London; Koran schools in Essen; German families moving out of blocks of flats as more and more Turks move in; school classes in Frankfurt where most of the children hardly understand German, do not know Grimm's fairy tales or what Christmas is — these are all signs of a dramatic change.

In England, a group of Indians demanding equal civil rights carried banners with the slogan: "We are here because you were there."

This applies to all European industrial nations. The One World has become too small.

But neither the British, with their dream of the British Commonwealth of Nations, nor the Dutch with their greater moral idealism and rigorism, have managed to integrate the post-war immigrants from the former colonies. The large numbers of immigrants, the difference between cultures and religions prevent this.

How long can we continue to watch these minorities grow, with the difficulties of integration? Tolerance, too, has limits. That limit is usually found where it is no longer the response of those who feel superior to the weaker but where the weaker demand equality, which in turn means either concessions from the stronger or a militant assertion of their identity.

Perhaps there are a few individuals who can do the former, but from society as a whole one can only expect the latter.

Practical politics has to take ordinary people into account. Policies requiring ordinary people to behave like saints or heroes are bound to fail. A realistic appraisal of human limits is probably the more humane approach — even in our policies towards foreigners.

Here, ideology and history come into conflict. In the United Kingdom, it was the belief in British citizenship for all

that led to new immigration and that many of these immigrants were exploited by tricksters. Bonn and the Länder, contrary to the clear letter and spirit of the Law on Foreigners, left the responsibility in the hands of the towns and local councils who believed saturation point had been reached and rejected further applications.

The conference called on Interior Minister Gerhart Baum (FDP) to "correct the course of recognition proceedings."

It said that unless numbers of applicants were significantly reduced, "the public bearers of responsibility at all levels would no longer be masters of the situation."

The conference advocates recognition proceedings being held at the borders and in collective camps for applicants for asylum.

Hans Wuellenweber (Hamburger Abendblatt, 2 April 1980)



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## Russia in Afghanistan

Continued from page 2

would be one the West could just about handle, since the Soviet Union would be running the risk of overextending itself on the Indian sub-continent.

But if the Kremlin's influence were to spread to Iran the world would be on the brink of the Third World War and Europe on the brink of economic ruin.

This might happen as the result of a civil war or it could be the aftermath of an ill-considered American punitive expedition against Khomeini going well beyond what has so far been mooted.

It would be foolish and irresponsible for Nato to work on the assumption that the Kremlin, once having consoli-

dated its position in the Hindu Kush, would ever consider moderation in Iran's case.

From 1985 Persian Gulf oil reserves are going to be an essential addition to its own dwindling oil output.

But all the talk of the defensive nature of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan (an aspect that can by no means be dismissed out of hand) has at least one positive outcome.

The fate and repression of Muslims in the Caucasus and Soviet Turkestan are no longer taboo, and the Soviet Union is proving in Asia to be the last European colonial power.

Peter Schall-Latour (Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt, 11 April 1980)

The aim of restrictive immigration policy would not be to prevent future ethnic change but to prevent a situation in which people see their cultural and historical identity as threatened and society's limited capacity for tolerance overburdened.

The formation of groups makes integration more difficult. Distrust of foreigners should not be allowed to swell into outbursts of hate.

West Germany, too, must start thinking about a coordinated policy on foreigners and immigration. This policy should not be derived from a single abstract principle, be it human rights or membership of an alliance or of the European Economic Community.

Distinctions will have to be made and preferences stated in terms of country of origin, degree of cultural similarity, numbers and periods of time — in other words according to the probability of these immigrants adapting to the German way of life.

Günter Gilleßen (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 April 1980)

The refugees now on board the Cap Anamur will shortly land in Singapore with the express guarantee that they will be allowed to live in West Germany.

Bonn believes that not only moral and humanitarian ground but also political interest in the stability of the South East Asian area make it essential it should keep its promise.

Bonn also aware that the problem can only be solved politically.

In talks between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and former Cambodian head of state Prince Sihanouk in the Black Forest recently agreed that a political solution would have to be found.

From 1974 to 1979 the Bonn Government spent DM 154m on Indochina refugees. DM 55,62m came from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DM 37,51m from the Ministry of Economic Cooperation and DM 60,89m from German contributions to the EEC budget.

Government sources said that contributions to international organisations would continue to be made. Bonn has already agreed to give the UN DM 15m towards aid to Cambodia this year.

Berni Conrad (Die Welt, 3 April 1980)

## States asked to take more boat people

The Bonn Government has made an urgent request that the Länder increase their intake of refugees.

Bonn took this action because of the increasing number of boat people being picked up.

In the past fortnight alone, 573 were rescued in the South China Sea by the West German hospital ship, Cap Anamur.

This country has told the Asean states, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, that it will provide for all refugees taken by our vessels.

And this means that, at this rate, the number of places set aside for them will soon be filled.

The Länder have between them agreed to take 20,000 refugees. According to Bonn, 17,690 places have already been taken up by refugees from Cambodia and Vietnam. And of the remaining 2,310 places, 1,182 are not available because the Länder cannot agree on the distribution.

Latest state of play is that there are 1,128 places, 25 in Baden-Württemberg, 341 in Bavaria, 100 in Hamburg, 278 in Hesse, eight in Lower Saxony, 152 in



North Rhine-Westphalia, 60 in the Rhineland-Palatinate, 85 in the Saar and 79 in Schleswig-Holstein. Bremen and Berlin have already filled their quotas.

For a while the problem was not so acute because there was a sharp drop in the number of boat people. Perhaps because of better weather there are now more boats with refugees drifting in the South China Seas.

Bonn realises that the Länder already have their hands full trying to cope with applications for asylum from all over the world and resettlers from East Europe. However, the Federal Republic of Germany is bound by its promise to the states.

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Berni Conrad (Die Welt, 3 April 1980)



## ■ TRADE

## Bonn keeps balance between old ties and sanction requirements

At his White House fireside chat on world affairs and with bodyguard-like backing from trade union leaders, bosses and bankers, Helmut Schmidt seemed to have persuaded Mr Carter not to impose a comprehensive economic boycott on the Soviet Union in view of its invasion of Afghanistan.

With a sigh of relief the Chancellor testified to Bonn's Nato solidarity with a formula reminiscent of the judgment of Solomon:

"While observing all treaty commitments we shall arrange our economic ties with the Soviet Union in such a way that our economy does not derive advantage from measures taken by fellow-allies."

In common with other members of Nato we shall be taking care to ensure that our economic ties strengthen neither the Soviet arms build-up nor Moscow's military potential.

"But we shall nonetheless continue to regard trade and economic cooperation with all the countries of Eastern Europe as important elements in our policy of fostering European stability."

On its return, however, the West German delegation found that the Americans expected them and other Nato members to take much more sweeping measures.

Washington's proposed list of strategic goods to be included in the Cocom embargo was relayed to Bonn by special envoy and came as a surprise, to say the least.

It left official sources speechless partly because it was rated highly confidential and created serious headaches because of its comprehensive character.

Cocom stands for Coordination Committee on Export Controls and is a body on which Japan and all Nato countries except Iceland are represented.

Its role is to regulate or coordinate supplies of Western goods to the East bloc that are deemed to be of strategic importance.

It is not a standing authority with an office of its own but an ad hoc body of either experts or politicians (depending on the importance of problems on the agenda) that meets at the US embassy in Paris.

It was set up in 1949 on America's initiative as a Western response to the cold war with Stalin. Deliberations are strictly secret but decisions may only be taken unanimously.

Yet initially at least the Americans were able to have it all their own way because they held the Marshall aid purse-strings.

Gradually, as the European and Japanese economies were reconstructed and regained strength and East-West ties thawed, Cocom degenerated to a mere shadow of its former self, as it were.

Now, in view of the Afghanistan crisis, the Americans want to refashion Cocom as a live weapon in the context of East-West disputes. US specialists spent three months sharpening arrowheads and filling the quiver of sanctions as they saw fit.

The Russian bear was not, perhaps, to be brought to his knees but he was to be taught that he could not with impunity try to slap his paws on Middle East energy resources, thereby upsetting the sensitive balance of world peace.

America's allies will need virtually the same amount of time again to work out the consequences and chain reactions of the Carter list for their own economies before they can afford to commit themselves on Cocom.

The Carter administration has already imposed an embargo on about 400 export licences for Soviet-bound goods, and to judge by appearances it expects its allies to agree to restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union in more than computers, telecommunications and laser technology.

Washington evidently wants the West to call a halt to exports in mechanical engineering, chemicals, metallurgy and transport too.

A mere glance was sufficient for officials in Bonn to realise with a shock that the economic punitive expedition as planned by America would hit the bulk of West German trade with the East.

The Americans interpret strategic in much wider terms than either Bonn or its European partners. The small print is, as it were, the trouble.

Its effect is like that of a stone thrown into a pool and the ripple of waves it causes. Computers nowadays control plant and equipment manufacturing consumer goods or, for that matter, airports — a commodity Bonn is selling well to the Russians.

"We shall have to examine the list to see whether it is in keeping with the West's political objectives," says Bonn Opposition economic affairs expert Karl-Heinz Narjes.

Geostrategists in Washington aim to call a halt to the armaments edge Moscow currently has over the West by reducing or banning altogether supplies of Western goods, equipment and know-how.

As a result the Russians are no longer to be able to modernise to the extent they are currently able either their home industry or their military sector.

The Americans hope Moscow would be caught in the cleft stick of declining

growth rates and chronic supply difficulties, thereby making the East bloc's choice between guns and butter even more difficult than hitherto.

As a result the Soviet Union would have to take in its belt a notch or two even to maintain its present military potential.

With the aid of this blow, combined with new and up-to-the-minute Nato weapons systems, US strategists hope at least in the medium term to restore the balance between the Warsaw Pact and Nato.

"We ought not to feed the tiger so he is even stronger than he already is," says Bonn Christian Democrat Herr Narjes, who fully agrees with this principle of US strategy.

Helmut Schmidt, he scornfully says, is still undecided whether or not to take on the lion tamer's role. Worse still, the signs are that Mr Carter's embargo list may turn out to be a paper tiger.

Bonn and most other Nato governments in Western Europe would like to see the embargo limited to a hard core in the military armaments sector.

Despite the world crisis triggered by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan they hope to salvage partial agreement with the East bloc in Europe.

The Bonn government and West German industry are afraid a Carter-style embargo might prove to be like cutting off their nose to spite their face: a self-inflicted wound.

"The Americans would be less affected by setbacks in trade with the East than we would," says Otto Wolff von Amerongen, Cologne industrialist and president of the Standing Conference of West German Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

Back in the days of the Cuban crisis West German industry cut a sorry figure by supporting the US strategic goods embargo and backing down on a billion-dollar pipeline deal that was later snapped up with no compunction by Britain, France and Italy.

Developing countries have grown increasingly important both as suppliers to and customers of West German industry over the past decade.

Division of labour with the Third World will, according to DIW, the West Berlin economic research institute, grow increasingly complex and sophisticated as a result.

It will gradually come closer to being on a par with the division of labour among industrialised countries.

In the course of the 70s the importance of West Germany as both customer and supplier increased from the developing countries' own viewpoint.

In 1977, for instance, exports to West Germany accounted for roughly 11 per cent of their trade with the West, or an even higher share in some sectors, such as over 15 per cent of farm produce or 19 per cent of consumer goods exported.

On the other hand the Third World in 1977 bought over 14 per cent of its purchases in the Western industrialised world in West Germany.

Industry by industry West Germany boasted an above-average share of more than 20 per cent in mechanical engineering

## Third World role is stepped up

ring and slightly less in chemicals, electrical engineering and steel construction.

All told, however, developing countries account for a significant proportion of West German imports in the case of only a few products. The Third World is naturally still a major supplier of raw materials.

It is also in a strong position on the German market in respect of various labour-intensive semi-finished and finished goods, wage costs in the Third World being particularly advantageous in their case.

The traditional division of labour between North and South has remained particularly unchanged in ties with the poorest developing countries, but there are signs of improvement.

Trade in semi-finished and finished

"I know no instance of sanctions in peacetime successfully inducing others to toe the line, let alone to change course," says Wolff.

Political circles are also trying to up sentiment on the subject by the picture of another 500,000 employed, but even industrial circles this estimate is a little on the side.

Herr Wolff says the men who are laid off are all skilled tradesmen and services are still in demand despite all unemployment.

"Business must not enjoy political effects of state aid were often over-rated," Bledenkopf, chairman of the DGB economic affairs committee.

He is critical of the business investment without state aid. One would like to hear such words from the state's side, too.

The state is becoming a self-service shop. It grants benefits to farmers, cherries, leaving the Americans at the dirty work.

Purely commercial arguments much less water than Bonn fears the Kremlin might, if economic sanctions were imposed, return the connection with treaties with the Russians need not expect any more painful by way of a Western response than the theatrical thunder of supplies of a number of commodities.

Fifteen per cent of its natural gas from Russia, for instance, not in the 40 per cent of its enriched uranium.

The East bloc is also due to the West — to the tune of no less than DM40bn to Western banks.

The Russians may have lost their leads by invading Afghanistan," according to a joke that is currently going the rounds in the East bloc. "But the capitalists have remained faithful to them."

In Bonn the authorities hope to quiet that Mr Carter's embargo list be pruned (if not styried) on account of Anglo-French resistance, bearing in mind the need to reach an agreement on Cocom.

But they are reluctant to admit to fact, since West Germany in particular is dependent on US protection.

So in retrospect the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan turns out to have been an adventure or escapade on the

Continued on page 7

goods has become the rule in economic ties with the more advanced developing countries, although it is still largely an exchange of consumer goods in return for capital goods.

Reciprocal trade in capital goods has increased considerably in the 70s. There is still a clear distinction between the pattern of exports and imports.

Imports from developing countries consist for the most part of long-term consumer goods, whereas exports to them are in the strict sense of the term capital goods.

Some of the main categories of German capital goods exports also high on the list of imports from developing countries are textiles, machinery and electrical equipment.

And where imports from developing countries predominate there is a substantial intra-industrial division of labour.

In 1977, for instance, DM2.3bn worth of textiles was imported by West Germany from developing countries, while DM1.8bn worth of textiles was exported to them.

Handelblatt, 3 April 1980

## ■ BUSINESS

## Not everyone is happy with the system of subsidies

The subsidy policies of the Federal Republic of Germany are coming under increasing criticism.

One example carrying particular weight was a report from some young German businessmen who said that the political effects of state aid were often over-rated. A poll had shown that three quarters of all companies managed to maintain investment without state aid.

One would like to hear such words from the state's side, too. The state is becoming a self-service shop. It grants benefits to farmers, cherries, leaving the Americans at the dirty work.

Purely commercial arguments much less water than Bonn fears the Kremlin might, if economic sanctions were imposed, return the connection with treaties with the Russians need not expect any more painful by way of a Western response than the theatrical thunder of supplies of a number of commodities.

Fifteen per cent of its natural gas from Russia, for instance, not in the 40 per cent of its enriched uranium.

The East bloc is also due to the West — to the tune of no less than DM40bn to Western banks.

The Russians may have lost their leads by invading Afghanistan," according to a joke that is currently going the rounds in the East bloc. "But the capitalists have remained faithful to them."

In Bonn the authorities hope to quiet that Mr Carter's embargo list be pruned (if not styried) on account of Anglo-French resistance, bearing in mind the need to reach an agreement on Cocom.

But they are reluctant to admit to fact, since West Germany in particular is dependent on US protection.

So in retrospect the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan turns out to have been an adventure or escapade on the

Continued on page 7

Employed has pointed out that the state and social security funds lose about DM9bn a year because of moonlighting.

Fines imposed on people caught moonlighting seem modest compared with the amounts lost to the government. In 1978 the total of fines imposed was a mere DM2,793m, and in the first half of last year there were signs that it might reach the DM3m mark. Fines in the first half year amounted to DM1,47m.

The law against moonlighting, known in West Germany as "black" labour, is now six years old, and owes its longevity to its ineffectiveness more than anything else. Bonn MPs have been trying for two years now to amend the law. Nighten restrictions and increase penalties, but so far they have not been able to reach agreement.

Much of the moonlighting is in the building trade. It is now booming and most of the fines are imposed on building workers who continue to build garages for their neighbours, and lay tiles in their bathrooms.

Competition in the building trade is so tough that contractors with deadlines to meet often have no choice but to use "black" labour — skilled workers

firms and coastal regions — an inextricable network of financial aid and subsidies.

Almost two thirds of the country is classified as regional development areas in the structure plan of the central government and the Länder. Politicians are apt to rediscover their interest in structural policy shortly before elections. The special employment programme for the Ruhr drawn up by the North Rhine-Westphalia government proves this. There are elections there in May.

The total volume of government subsidies this year will be about DM57bn — 13 per cent of the total expenditure of all government units.

Entire industries are up in arms because some firms are getting more subsidies than others. The Hoesch Hüttenwerk AG brought on itself the anger of the industry when it got a DM240m state loan to finance the building of a new steelworks.

The conditions: interest-free for the first three or four years, thereafter 4 per cent a year. The fact that former SPD Secretary of State Detlev Karsten Rohwedder is one of the leading directors of Hoesch was hardly an obstacle to the transaction. But Hoesch's competitors also take all the subsidies they can lay their hands on.

Heide Simonis, an SPD MP, recently called for a review of a whole list of state gifts and state aid, including payments to the EEC Common Agricultural Fund, tax concessions for brandy distillers and regional development aid.

## Demand for skilled workers leads to 'black labour'

cannot be found any more. The building industry's failure to train enough young building workers is now boomeranging on it with a vengeance.

The demand for "black" labour has led to the emergence of a particularly odious specimen, known in the trade as the "slave-dealer". These are contractors who farm out black labour.

In South Germany these dealers are often Yugoslavs and Austrians. They undercut the competition by quoting incredibly low prices — no wonder, as they pay no taxes or social security contributions. In western and north Germany, the Dutch have cornered the black market.

These firms use methods compared with which the moonlighting of painters and bricklayers seems innocent enough. Their workers often enter the country illegally over the green frontier and their pay is often lower than the net income of their German colleagues. The craft bosses stick the rest of the agreed wages in their own pockets.

Many house-owners think they are very clever when they have built their own house. However, problems arise when anything goes wrong. They cannot claim compensation if it turns out that "black" workers have made mistakes. They have no comeback against any

craftsman not registered on the handicraft register.

Handelblatt, 3 April 1980



She also called for an end to the depreciation industry.

Frau Simonis even dared to criticise the system of expert advisors by which many civil servants and academics supplement their already substantial incomes.

And she failed to see the logic of special supplementary payments to top civil servants.

State subsidies sometimes have their value, but they can also be totally nonsensical. They can be aids to self-aids or bolsters for the inert. More often they promote lethargy. Billions of marks of taxpayers' money is being wrongly invested, used to hold up structural reforms and leading, as a leading industrialist, Otto Wolff of the DIHT put it, to a "quasi state economy." All this in the name of saving jobs, aiding, companies and regions.

However, the conservation of old-fashioned production structures in the long term only endangers jobs. It costs the state more and more. If at some time the state does not have the money, the company must go bust or, with new state subsidies, be modernised, a process in which jobs are always lost. There have been classic examples of this in Britain, France and Italy.

Subsidies also lead to excessively high wages rises. Appeals to overall economic

reason to both sides of industry are bound to be ineffective if the state cushions the risks of excessively high wage rises.

But the most dangerous effect of subsidies is that they work like a sweet poison, and spread. Hard-pressed companies and industries call for state aid, pointing out that their counterparts in other countries receive it. Other states have already gone much further in this direction.

With subsidies they not only maintain jobs but huge overcapacities, which reduce the profits of neighbouring states. This means they export their unemployment to their neighbours, who are then dragged into the general subsidy race. An example is the subsidising of the Italian chemical fibre industry which meant that German fibre producers had to drastically reduce their production.

And the German steel industry — the most modern and productive in Europe — had to reduce its capacity severely because other states were determined to save their nationalised or quasi-nationalised steel industries.

Subsidies are so widespread now that countries find it increasingly difficult to escape from the vicious circle. By not subsidising they would be exposing their economies to the risk of international distortions of competition.

German shipyards justify their requests for subsidies by saying that subsidies in other countries are far higher. German shipbuilders complain that they hardly get any orders from abroad these days. In the past, most of their orders came from abroad.

Most countries have abjured protectionism, but this is no comfort for those who want free world trade because state subsidies which snatch away orders from foreign competition have the same ruinous effects.

Heinrich Rieker  
(Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt, 4 April 1980)

years in Parliament are entitled to huge non-contributory pensions.

Bureaucrats often seem to be vain-glorious in the use they make of the taxpayers' millions — a fact which is comprehensible only to those initiated into the secrets of the thought processes of parliamentarians and administrators.

Bonn finds it difficult to combat the economic subculture of moonlighters. But by hoping the slowdown in the economy will solve the problem, they are just making it too easy for themselves.

On the other hand, politicians argue that one way of cushioning the effects of economic cycles is to divide work more fairly. A shorter working week is the motto. But precisely this could become an additional incentive to moonlighting, especially as the employers will firmly resist demands for shorter hours plus present pay levels.

Instead of spending their time pursuing leisure activities or in further education, it is feared workers would moonlight to supplement their income — to buy cars, holiday, new furniture.

In Denmark the public refusal to pay taxes is part of the protest against the "hungry" state. Here, the increase in moonlighting represents a rejection of certain duties of the citizen and poses a further problem for democracy. Punishments can only disguise the problem.

Diether Loewe  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 6 April 1980)



## SHIPPING

## Low-paid crews help Soviet fleets to freeboot on the high seas

It looks like being another tough year for West German merchant shipping. Now President Carter has imposed an embargo on grain shipments to Russia. Soviet freighters are scouring the seven seas with empty holds on the lookout for cargo.

If they are unable to make good the loss by snapping up grain shipments to other ports they will take on any jobs going for other countries.

And the Soviet merchant marine has no compunction in resorting to methods not regarded as strictly fair. East bloc freighters have the reputation of being the freebooters of twentieth-century shipping.

Shortly after Mr. Carter's grain embargo local newspapers headlined reports of an unusual number of Russian freighters off Hamburg, allegedly lying in wait to snap up German cargo.

This was not strictly true. In reality they were Soviet freighters that had taken on cargo before the embargo and were offloading on to smaller vessels.

Soviet freighters are heavyweights, weighing 30,000 to 50,000 tons, and their draught is too deep to allow them to berth at West German ports fully laden.

In reality there are no current problems in bilateral shipping ties between Germany and the Soviet Union. Freight traffic between the two has been evenly balanced since they have held regular talks on bilateral shipping issues.

"The ratio is about fifty-fifty," says Bonn Transport Ministry official Christian Woelcker, who is in charge of the basic principles section of the transport policy department.

Cross-trade is what worries both Bonn and West German shipowners. It means cargo carried for other countries and is an important trade for all major maritime nations.

Cross-trade occurs in line shipping and tramp shipping, and in cross-trade the Russians may be outsiders but they have other shipping countries worried stiff.

East Africa, for instance, used to be a route on which the German merchant navy held pride of place. Not any more. Soviet shipping has outstripped the black, red and gold ensign.

From West German ports the Russian Besta line has three departures a month to East Africa, whereas German shipowners run only one service a month.

As recently as in 1975 Soviet merchant shipping's share of this trade was a mere 22 per cent of the West German slice of the cake. By 1978 the Soviet share had increased to 143 per cent.

On the Far Eastern run the Red fleet has doubled its share of the trade within a few years. In 1975 Russian ships carried no German freight to the Indian sub-continent. Three years later they carried virtually as much as West German freighters.

The Russians have also gone on to the offensive in Central America. Hapag-Lloyd, for instance, have piled the western seaboard of Central America for 80 years, but this tradition could soon be past history unless a damper is put on Soviet expansion.

In two years the Red fleet has succeeded in cornering the lion's share of cotton shipments and other valuable cargo.

On the Central American run Russian ships finance the return leg from Cuba by taking on cargo bound for West German ports that used to be carried by German ships.

The upshot is that Russia's Baltic Pacific Line by 1978 was handling 70 per cent more cargo than Hapag-Lloyd in incoming traffic from Central America.

The North Atlantic run is the only one where relative peace and quiet still reign. This is partly because of anti-Soviet US shipping policies and partly because container trade has expanded substantially and the Russians have yet to equal Western standards in this sector.

The reason for this Soviet success story is simple. East bloc state shipping lines often charge dumping rates. Earning foreign exchange is more important than running at a profit.

Besides, they usually run as outsiders and are not bound by the regulations of international line conferences.

On all major runs the leading shipping countries have joined forces in line conferences that negotiate timetable frequencies, berthing rights in the various ports, shares of traffic and cargo rates.

Soviet shipowners have always shouldered these cartels. With reference to freedom of the seas they undercut conference rates by up to 60 per cent (which they are able to do because of the low wages they pay their seamen).

Red shipowners behave like early capitalists in their heyday. Once they have cornered a share of the market by charging lower rates they suddenly indicate willingness to join the conference, but only on the basis of the percentage they now handle, of course.

Safe in the knowledge that they have joined the shipping conference on these terms, they can then profit from the higher rates charged by members of the cartel that runs the route.

The headway made by Soviet merchant shipping has made its mark on the West German merchant navy among others. Since 1971 West Germany has slumped from eight to eleventh place in the list of seafaring nations.

By 1979 West German tonnage had declined to the 1971 level of 8.6m GRT from a peak of almost 10m.

Between 1971 and 1979 the Soviet Union increased its merchant tonnage from 16m to 23m GRT, taking it to fifth place in the international ratings.

Much is at stake for the German merchant fleet, which employs a payroll of about 30,000 men and in 1978 turned over DM6.5bn in freight earnings.

Alarming Soviet competition, for cross-trade will again be a major item on the agenda of bilateral shipping talks this spring.

Last year the Soviet delegation promised to instruct Russian shipping to exercise greater self-restraint in cross-

trade, but nothing seems to have happened as a result.

So West German shipowners are surging Bonn to adopt a tougher approach at the talks, but that is said than done. Registration of go between German ports and Central America is a point.

Agents working from West on behalf of foreign shipowners, including the Soviet merchant navy, quitted to submit details of where vessels head for these parts of the world where they have come from and they are heading.

But this achieves little more than a statistical survey of what foreign fleets are up to. On effective measures are needed to Soviet price-cutting.

Bonn could, for instance, limit the Red fleet's share of cargo to West German ports subject to procedures. But that could be boomerang.

It might sound like a good idea for local shipowners a measure of protection but it could do both the West German ports long-term harm.

If Bonn were to close Germany to Soviet shipping, Soviet ships could head for Rotterdam, which is handy for the Ruhr, and the West would hit northern ports such as Hamburg and Lübeck hard.

Rotterdam, on the other hand, would welcome the extra turnover, it would probably be the thin end of the wedge for West German shipowners.

Freight for West German goods from Central America could easily be shipped via Rotterdam, as the Russians know only too well. West German exporters and importers regularly use the service to the need to maintain a man merchant navy but in practice business with the lowest bidder.

Licensing procedures would make sense if the merchant navy other Common Market countries followed suit, but this they have failed to do in the past.

There are nonetheless indications Europe is more willing to join in against the Russians. British and German shipowners, for instance, are in the same straits as their West German counterparts.

These three are certainly more inclined to undertake joint moves to fend their shipping from Soviet hands as Herr Woelcker points out:

"In the past the Russians have not believed the European Community would ever arrive at a joint approach. The EEC has taken them by surprise."

But before tougher measures are undertaken the Bonn Transport Ministry still hopes East bloc shipowners will be persuaded to see reason and pursue aggressive policies.

But these hopes are viewed with little scepticism, especially now that German shipping faces the prospect of further competition from the Soviet Union.

By land the Trans-Siberian Railway setting its cap at a larger share of the freight market; on the water the fleet plying the Rhine, the Main and Danube is keen to boost its share of trade.

In both sectors integrated freight services seem sure to confront West man merchant and inland waterway traffic with extra problems.

Last year the Soviet delegation promised to instruct Russian shipping to exercise greater self-restraint in cross-

## THE ENVIRONMENT

## Need to give priority to noise abatement

Professor Hanskerl Gutsche and research scientists at West Berlin Technical University have concluded from a study of building-sites that construction noise levels can be substantially reduced by better coordination, more prefabrication and, a poor third, soundproofing machinery.

If a skyscraper or an Underground line has ever been built near a home of yours you will know at first hand that noise abatement is an environmental must.

Impaired hearing accounts for 60 to 70 per cent of construction workers who claim benefits for industrial injury. Residents have every right to regard noise as at least a nuisance.

The legal limits for background noise are 55 decibels in residential and 70 decibels in industrial areas, but they are often substantially exceeded on building-sites.

This is mainly due to faulty or inadequate soundproofing of construction machinery, it is often unfairly argued. But a combination of equipment is sure to make a racket.

Where pneumatic drills hammer, piles are driven, excavators excavate, tracked vehicles and trucks rev up, legal limits are clearly a dead letter.

Yet preliminary research by specialists at the Technical University in West Berlin, financed by the Scientific Research Association, indicates that the problem can be solved.

Professor Gutsche, Professor Becker and Dr Marschel put a theoretical model through its paces on a Berlin building-site. They measured the decibels and checked the construction of a reinforced concrete shell for a multi-storey building, then drew up realistic estimates of their own.

They noted that 10 to 12 high-noise work sessions a day were carried out at the three points where construction work was in progress. Their first suggestion is to coordinate noisy work.

Jobs could be carried out step by step instead of dozens of construction workers appearing to hammer, drill and noise away in accordance with no apparent pattern.

By ensuring that all machinery is not working simultaneously and carrying out noisy jobs at intervals, overlap and superfluous noise should be kept to a minimum.

With greater emphasis on prefabricated sections more work could be undertaken in the factory rather than on-site and in the open, the experts also argued.

This alone would put paid to the noise of several concrete mixers, an aggregate mixer and a crane. Soundproofed machinery came only as a third stage in the noise abatement scheme.

All told, these measures would result in an estimated 10-decibel reduction in the noise count, and 10 decibels less was felt by the human ear to be only about half the previous noise level.

Noise abatement need not cost much. The Berlin scientists' schedule cut construction time, rationalised construction methods and thus cut construction costs.

Besides, it obviated the need for re-equipment such as had proved necessary in (at inordinate expense) on a number of building-sites of late where noise levels had been exceeded.

Wolfgang Hoffmann  
Die Zeit, 4 April

Even if there were no saving to the client, the contractor would at least no longer run the risk of costly trouble such as a temporary shutdown on the basis of a court order made on noise grounds.

Detailed planning before construction work began would also improve the accuracy of costing, Professor Hanskerl Gutsche claimed.

But he was at pains to emphasise that planning alone could not eliminate construction noise. On major projects such as subway construction large machines had to be used and high noise levels were inevitable.

Piles, for instance, could only be driven by pneumatic rams that could be partially but by no means entirely soundproofed.

So the aim must be to avoid noise-intensive techniques where this was possible. In urban locations, for instance, greater use should be made of prefabricated sections.

Many other jobs need not be done on-site, he claimed. Circular saws screamed on every floor of the skyscraper to cut planks for form work. This could be done equally well in construction company warehouses.

Professor Gutsche was well aware that this could prove difficult for small and medium-sized firms that lacked the industrial facilities.

The construction industry as a whole was beset by a problem that did not affect other industries: a side-by-side

An automatic noise analyser picking up traffic noise on the streets of Frankfurt.

(Photo: Centropress)

combination of artisan trades and industrial manufacture.

Noise abatement was mainly possible where industrial techniques were employed, so large operators were more likely to make use of noise abatement techniques.

But Professor Gutsche cited an example of how smaller contractors might make use of modern noise abatement techniques in form work. If several small firms were to cooperate they might use standardised, reusable parts. They would automatically be no-noise parts.

The overall objective was to select suitable construction procedures, to coordinate work processes and to arrange construction machinery in the right way.

There were times when much could be gained by relocating noisy machinery in an area where they were less of a noise problem for local residents.

But even measures of such seeming

## City air now much safer to breathe

In city-centres the average lead count in road dust declined from 4.2 milligrams per gram to 2.2 milligrams per gram, or by roughly half between 1971 and 1979.

"What particularly interested us, coming as an initial surprise," the professor says, "was that the amounts of cancer-inducing hydrocarbons and benzopyrene showed a similar trend."

"The benzopyrene count was found to decline from 1.2 micrograms per gram of dust to 0.5 micrograms per gram, or less than half the 1971 figure."

"It really was amazing to find similar situations for both lead and benzopyrene."

In trying to establish the cause of this link between such differing harmful substances as lead and benzopyrene, the Erlangen research scientists came across work by Signor Candeli, an Italian scientist.

Candeli had discovered in experiments with model fuels and vehicles that when lead was present an increase in aromatic compounds boosted the formation and emission of polycyclic and benzopyrene.

Conversely, less lead in motor fuel meant less benzopyrene in exhaust fumes. Professor Schlipkötter notes an unexpected

simplicity must first be checked for practicability, he warned.

Professor Gutsche and his team will be checking their findings in practice for another two years with the aid of a DM320,000 grant from the Bonn government's West Berlin environmental agency.

The Environment Office also sponsors noise abatement research in connection with motor vehicles.

The research team have fitted out a small truck with measuring equipment and plan to tour and investigate about 60 building-sites in Berlin and West Germany.

Only then will they feel their findings are sufficiently well based to justify the public money invested in the project.

They hope noise planning may one day be introduced as a university subject. They are firmly persuaded the results of their work will find their way into legislative provisions. *Justin Westhoff*

(Der Tagespiegel, 29 March 1980)

pected and unsatisfactory development in that the nitrogen dioxide count in city air has been on the increase for several years.

It is still below the safety level of 80 micrograms per cubic metre but fast reaching this tolerance.

If you want to reduce the amount of toxins, and there are about 1,000 to choose from, he says, the most obvious way to set about it is by means of better combustion.

The more complete the process of combustion is, the higher the proportion of nitrogen dioxide will be.

Nitrogen dioxide is a toxic gas because about 80 to 90 per cent of it penetrates to the depths of the lungs, causing inflammation and weakening the pulmonary defence mechanism.

Sulphur dioxide, on the other hand, is readily soluble in water and is thus 90 per cent channelled off in the ear, nose and throat region. Only about 10 per cent reaches the base of the lung, where it does the damage.

Now that sulphur dioxide is gradually declining in importance as a pollutant to atmospheric pollution and nitrogen dioxide is on the increase as a result of otherwise positive clean air measures, we shall have to rethink.

Otherwise we must pay the price of nitrogen dioxide disposal. Nitrogen dioxide catalysts are available for motor vehicles, but they cost about DM3,000 each.

Hainz Günther

(Die Zeit, 4 April 1980)

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## THE ARTS

## Joseph Beuys takes his ideas to the barrack room

Two conscripts of the Staff and Supply Battalion of the Bonn Ministry of Defence have attempted to improve the quality of barrack life by holding an exhibition of the work of Pissarro, Kandinsky, Beuys and his pupil Palermo. Under the motto 'Art in the Barracks', and with the assistance of the Bonn Art Museum and Bonn Kunstverein, the two soldiers, Walter Schermerling and Heinrich von Kallweit, have put together an exhibition of almost 100 drawings by contemporary artists. And Joseph Beuys himself came along.

The master knew what the soldiers wanted. At the beginning of his afternoon visit, Joseph Beuys moved around like a fiddler's elbow from one place to the next.

He held court at the feet of soldiers and sailors, thoroughly enjoying himself and making life very easy for the photographers and cameramen.

A Beuys happening with men in uniform? Expectations were high.

Word soon got around in Bonn that Joseph Beuys was going to come and talk to Defence Ministry soldiers of the 4th company on the occasion of the Art in the Barracks exhibition.

The people of Bonn turned up in large numbers and part of the military security area had to be turned into an impromptu parking area.

For the occasion the company canteen was transformed into the lecture room of an art academy, the only difference being that art lecture rooms are seldom as full as this.

On the wall were two posters, a chair, and many microphones.

After the applause, Beuys took possession of the chair, wearing his familiar felt hat and waistcoat. He looked at his audience with a friendly, paternal air.

Beuys, a supporter of the Ecological Party, had not come to the barracks to fight. He wanted this to be clear from the start. The subject was art.

His opening words were: "Dear soldiers," and this immediately established a relaxed atmosphere. There was to be no "happening" — a fact which the soldiers took with military stoicism. Joseph Beuys gave a lecture lasting almost three quarters of an hour.

He explained with obvious gusto his "extended" anthropological concept of art, described an art related to man and all areas of his life, said human creativity was the root and motor of an all-embracing art.

He concluded by saying that all citizens are artists and that there should be no distinction between artists and non-artists.

Beuys explained how his concept of art could also be applied to social and political life styles, to freedom, ecology and economics. For the future he stressed the "increasing importance of rank-and-file elements of democracy."

So he did not need to do any direct advertising for the ecologists. He would not have been allowed to in a barracks, where politics are taboo.

The extended concept of art naturally includes a new consciousness of the environment. The energy question was not a question of all but of the energy and creativity of the human intellect.

Beuys paid some surprising compliments to the Bundeswehr in his lecture. He described it as having educational

potential and being a means towards creativity, like a university.

Beuys said that art was the true capital of society and he himself, the expounder of the extended concept of art, was a guarantor of peace, helping to ensure "that the Bundeswehr would never be deployed."

The audience seemed at times to be rather exhausted and when the artist suggested a short pause for discussion the sighs of relief were audible. In soldierly discipline, the speakers went up to the microphone.

Almost all of them addressed Beuys as Herr Professor. The first questioner testified to the confusion Beuys must have sown in many a soldier's mind. How, he asked, could a conscript doing his 15 months stint be creative given the drill in the Bundeswehr?

Beuys replied: "A man who cannot be creative in the Bundeswehr cannot be creative anywhere." A slight contradiction in the theory of universal creativity. At any rate the response was laughter and dense whistle and Beuys had to quote his own example.

He said he too had once been a soldier and at that time discipline was even stricter. But in the long periods of activity, Beuys said, he had done a great deal. And this was the point: "To be creative in the daily grind we are all in."

Another asked Beuys whether he was not himself now a member of the establishment which he previously rejected. Beuys replied: "I am not saying you are wrong but for my part I can say that that is not the case."

Then a young conscript asked for a more precise account of creativity, saying: "If I have a piece of paper before me and a pencil in my hand and go out of my way to produce something which is not art — is this possible?"

There was tentative applause but Beuys was not put out. No, he said, this was not possible, because man was a creative being, though of course the quality of such art could approach zero level.

The soldiers were well prepared and the very fact that two conscripts had initiated the exhibition testified to their aesthetic sense. And so the question of aesthetics was bound to arise sooner or later.

Beuys made a distinction: "The aes-

thetic in art is man himself."

But then there was the "superficial concept of the aesthetic," according to which a tank or an aeroplane such as Concorde were "in many ways far more aesthetic than any work of art available today." Part of the audience took this as a compliment to the Bundeswehr and the material they worked with. Then came the provocateurs: "What makes a bathtub or two brooms exhibited by you hundreds of thousands of times more valuable than objects I exhibit?"

Beuys said he was very surprised that they were asking the right questions and then he explained the difference.

His argument, slightly abbreviated, is as follows: Of course anyone could make and exhibit this work of art. What counts is the impulse of energy in the act, the conception, the relation to the concept of economy.

This realisation aroused interest in the extended concept of art and created the preconditions "for me to be here talking to soldiers today." In this respect, the bathtub, with which he meant to provoke, was a "power station."

Beuys unveiled the secret that the material value of the bathtub was really not so great. He said he used to bathe in the tub as a child and play with a rubber doll in it and that he sold the tub to a friend for DM300. Only when it was damaged did its estimated value suddenly soar to DM150,000 and the owner pocketed DM80,000 from the insurance.

The atmosphere now was completely relaxed. Beuys reflected on the uniform of his hosts. He said he liked the navy's uniform but not the Luftwaffe's — he found it too Wilhelmian.

The soldiers were now increasingly on the offensive. One of them asked Beuys what he thought of the canteen stool he



A man who cannot be creative in the Bundeswehr cannot be creative anywhere, Joseph Beuys tells soldiers. (Photo: R. W. S.)

was sitting on. He said he would like to auction it after the lecture, but with the artist's signature or with the artist on it?

Beuys had to make a pre-emptive move here: "I would be glad to do it but I am afraid I cannot remain silent on it."

Then came the inevitable question: "Why do you always wear a hat?" Beuys immediately answered by taking off the hat and revealing his perfectly normal, three-quarters-bald head.

And why? He had got a head wound during the war, but that was not the point. He used to wear a cap. That started wearing the hat and after a while this became a "capital concept" rather than a mere fad. "People simply want to see me in the hat now."

The artist and his audience got a famous look as if Beuys was preparing for a long stay in the barracks. A lieutenant said he thought his daughter's drawings were better than the Beuys exhibits in the Bonn Museum. Beuys' modest reply: "I have urged anyone to buy anything by me mostly advise them not to."

Thomas Meyer  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 March 1980)

## Closing the gap between work and artistic flair

A programme entitled the Artists and Apprentices Projects aims at encouraging creative and artistic work in vocational training.

In doing this, it is hoped to revive old traditions in the handicrafts.

This was outlined by Björn Engholm, Parliamentary Secretary of State in the Bonn Education Ministry, at an exhibition in Bonn which shows the results of the scheme.

This initiative actually began in 1976, when the Bonn cabinet passed a catalogue of measures designed to improve

the professional and social situation of artists. Various ministries were called upon to use artistic expertise.

The Ministry of Education promptly did so and, after consultations with Chambers of Commerce in five different towns, it started the Artists and Apprentices Project. DM50,000 was made available in the 1979 budget.

The improvement of the artists' position went hand in hand with teaching youngsters to appreciate art. The distance between the artistic and the working world was reduced.

In Travemünde near Lübeck, for example, sculptor Karl-Heinz Engel worked with a group of smiths and apprentices to make metal objects.

In Regensburg, two groups of apprentice painters under the leadership of graphic artist Werner Arnold painted house facades in the old city. In Münster, 60 boys and girls took part in courses given by sculptor Carlo Dittelsen.

Finally in Berlin, apprentices and trainees led by painter and graphic artist Michael Mahnke painted the outer walls of the Berlin Professional Training Office and did interior design work in a communication corner.

The aims of the objectives were to

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## THE CINEMA

## Hanna Schygulla in no hurry to make up her mind

Hanna Schygulla, best known for her parts in films directed by Rainer Fassbinder, has had several tempting offers from Hollywood. But so far she has not made up her mind.

Fassbinder's film *The Marriage of Maria Braun*, has been getting enthusiastic reviews in the US in the past six months and Hanna Schygulla has been hailed as a new European superstar.

She was offered the lead in *The Formula*, with Marlon Brando, but she turned it down.



Alan J. Pakula offered her the lead in the film version of William Styron's bestseller, *Sophie's Choice*. Schygulla is still undecided. The heroine is a survivor of the concentration camps in the New York of the 1950s who becomes involved in an obsessive love affair. The part seems to be made for her, but before making up her mind she has returned home. She is now touring Germany acting in the stage version of Dostoyevski's *The Idiot*. And there is a new film project with Fassbinder in the offing: *Lilli Marleen*, to be produced by Munich movie mogul Luggi Waldleitner. It is the story of the song sung on all fronts during the Second World War, composed by Lale Andersen and sung



*The Marriage of Maria Braun* has launched Hanna Schygulla by Marlene Dietrich. (here as Maria Braun) to fame in America as a 'European Schygulla's partner superstar.' (Photo: United Artists) in this film will be

Continued from page 10

somewhat high-flown: "Self-realisation in non-functional works of art," "extension of competence," "the development of the ability to cooperate and use artistic and technical abilities."

These definitions suggest that the vocational training of young people does not sufficiently develop their creativity, does not boost their feeling of their own worth (what apprentice can allow himself this luxury?) and does not arouse their feelings of responsibility.

The first reports on work in these groups show that the young people — most aged between 18 and 25 — regard their work as purely functional. Imagination, self-expression they regard as something forbidden.

In the Travemünde group, the apprentices were asked to produce metal objects representing a "great volume," "speed" and "robots." At first they were perplexed because up to then they had been used only to working from designs.

Once they had overcome the initial shock, they set about their work with gusto and produced lively and imaginative sculptures from screws, bolts, metal wire and plexiglass.

The experience of working together in a team was an unforgettable one for the apprentices. "I'll never forget it," said an apprentice painter who had worked on the Regensburg renovation project. The apprentice stonemasons decided to produce a newspaper describing their work.

The general delight about the success

Italian star Franco Nero, best known as Django. A. Waldleitner/Fassbinder joint production would be another connection between young filmmakers and the cinema of our grandfathers.

Waldleitner has already produced *The Glass Cell*, directed by Hans W. Geissendörfer, which even got an Oscar nomination.

Fassbinder is the only director Waldleitner has even considered to direct *Lilli Marleen*. "He's got the right feelers for it. Besides, for me there are no old directors and young directors, only good and bad ones."

Schygulla's success in America is having repercussions on the German film scene.

Since the beginning of the Munich anti-theatre, she has been Fassbinder's favourite leading actress, playing the lead in all his early films.

She has played vamps and innocents, sinners and naives. Hollywood described her as an exciting cross between Jean Harlow and Marlene Dietrich, but this praise leaves her cold. "They've always got superlatives and comparisons up their sleeves. You are always the new so and so. You are never yourself in Hollywood."

It is largely fear of becoming a marketable commodity which makes Schygulla hesitate about Hollywood acting career. She admits that when she was younger she would have jumped at the chance.

Of course she would like to act with Brando and other leading Hollywood stars, but only if she liked the part, not just as a female pendant. "They've got enough girls in Hollywood for that kind of thing."

She does not want to be forced into a particular role. That was why she said goodbye to Fassbinder for a few years after several successful films, including *Effi Briest*. "I had the feeling I was always acting the same part. I needed a change, other directors, different material. I needed to find myself."

She acted in films by Wim Wenders and Vojtech Jasný, in children's theatre



Hanna Schygulla as Effi Briest

(Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren) in Munich, and hitch-hiked through the United States and Mexico.

"I had to find myself again. Fassbinder and I had nothing more to give one another. We had suddenly become successful, but we had all changed and did not know one another any more."

When Romy Schneider turned down the lead part in *The Marriage of Maria Braun*, Fassbinder and his ex-star teamed up again. With Schygulla in the lead, the film was a big success. She won the best actress award for her part at the Berlin Film Festival in 1979. Immediately afterwards, she acted in Fassbinder's *The Third Generation* and the recently completed TV version of Alfred Döblin's novel *Berlin Alexanderplatz*.

*Lilli Marleen* could be a further high-point in their joint work and after that



Rainer Fassbinder

(Photo: Archiv)

they are planning a new version of *The Blue Angel*.

At 36, Hanna Schygulla is the top female star of the German cinema. But she is prudent and circumspect despite her success. She does not intend to make a lot of films and money in the next few years and then leave the field to someone else. "I can only act when I feel there are hidden depths in a part and where I am personally involved. I don't want to be just a doll being rigged out in different costumes all the time. I used to be afraid of this when I was younger, and I've never got rid of the fear."

Hence her scepticism about international film offers. She is worried about being typecast, hence her return to the familiarity of Fassbinder and his group. "I'll have to stick to my refusals. I don't know if I really want this so-called great international career. I don't want to get submerged. If I do, I'll just quit — again."

Bernd Lubowski

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 29 March 1980)

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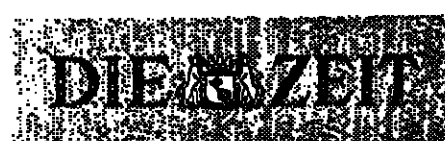
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## MEDICINE

# New treatment developed for epileptics



There are 350,000 chronic epileptics in West Germany. About 3m people in this country suffer an epileptic fit at least once in their life.

The causes of epilepsy, which was first recorded over 3,700 years ago, are still relatively unknown. But this is not true of its diagnosis and therapy.

According to a leading pharmaceutical concern, doctors can now choose from more than 30 different drugs, known as antiepileptics, which reduce the frequency of fits. Almost all these drugs have different chemical compositions and consequently different effects.

As no two kinds of epilepsy are the same and each patient literally has his own disease, the prescription of the right drug for each patient is an art in itself. Correctly used, these drugs can eliminate fits altogether in 60 to 80 per cent of cases. But the diagnosis has to be right first.

All epileptic fits are caused by electric discharge disorders of the brain. The main instrument in diagnosis is by electroencephalography (EEG), a method first described by Hans Berger 50 years ago.

The problem is that the more or less rhythmic sequences of jagged, high waves and wave complexes showing the electric activity of the brain and recorded by the EEG are unspecific: they do not allow a definite conclusion that the patient is suffering from epilepsy, though 30 per cent of all epilepsy cases have a characteristic pattern in EEG tests.

Another difficulty is that most epileptic fits occur in sleep, but not only at night. That is why doctors are increasingly taking sleep into account in their diagnoses.

Indeed, doctors now take this factor into account when planning hospitals, as in the case of the new central hospital in East Bremen. The 30 wards of the 800-bed hospital have cables connecting them with the clinical neurophysiology department. Two rooms in each ward have "hot lines" by which patients' bio-signals are transmitted to and registered in the computer room.

EEG, EKG, body temperature, breathing, pulse, eye and muscle movements, circulation and psychogalvanic reflex — all these data are recorded by a computer while the patient lies in his bed or even sleeps.

Tiny electrodes record the tensile potential of the skin, sensors measure circulation and acceleration recorders are used for arm and leg movement. The data are then collected in a polygraph in the hospital duty room. This device reinforces and filters the biosignals and shows them as curves on a monitor.

A patient can also be watched by remote control by means of infra-red cameras with two infra-red lights, which are invisible to the human eye. The picture appears on another monitor and can, if necessary, be re-recorded on a video-recorder. The two monitor pictures,

on the polygraph and on the infra-red camera, give night staff the opportunity to make an initial diagnosis. Cramps during the night are recorded twice: as videopictures and as biosignals in the central computer room.

The data are transmitted from the ward to the centre by normal copper cables. However, to ensure that the cables or radio services do not cause disturbances, the signals are transmitted in a special way which cuts out the possibility of distortion.

The best known method here is pulse-code modulation, a technique derived from digital technology. Information is still mainly transmitted in a similar manner to the normal telephone, variations in tension determining what comes out at the end. Digital technology, on the other hand, uses a rapid sequence of yes-no impulses: nothing but ones and zeros, one signifying a pulse and zero its absence.

This pulse-code modulation, though still in its early stages, is used in many areas, from telephones to the storage of TV programmes on picture plates or tapes.

This method also means that several programmes can be transmitted at the same time. In Bremen East hospital for instance 16 programmes can be transmitted simultaneously without loss of information.

Finally, even distorted signals can be "repaired" i.e. restored to their original form without difficulty. The data are also ready for immediate input into a computer, they do not have to be "translated" again.

In Bremen East, the data from the wards are first stored on a tape which also functions as a mass information store for the computer.

The computer is programmed to analyse automatically the various phenomena recorded, for instance EEG or EKG.

Critical phases can then be spoken of or illustrated in the form of "three dimensional performance density spectra."

## Cancer centre works on trials with platinum

American scientists observed by chance in 1964 that bacteria in a salt solution underwent growth changes when an electric current flowed through the solution.

Further analysis showed that it was not, as at first assumed, the electric current that caused this, but traces of platinum which the salt solution had dissolved from the contacts.

Platinum as a noble metal does not form chemical compounds but so-called coordination or complex combinations. After intensive and lengthy experiments cytosiamin-dichlorine platinum has now been isolated as an inhibitor of cancer.



## A bus for invalids

Heidelberg has taken the lead in the Federal Republic of Germany by introducing buses designed so invalids can get on and off unaided. This is done with steps that up and down at the control of the bus driver. Inside the bus there are safety seats wheelchairs do not move round.

This leads to a compression of data which saves the specialist a lot of time in his diagnosis. By traditional methods of supervision of eight hours' sleep. Between 174 and 432 metres of paper covered with often bizarre curves are produced.

Only the rapid interaction of the computer, the tape and the EEG can collate all the information effectively. The interpretation of the information is a matter for the specialist alone.

Dr Dieter Weigeldt, director of Bremen East hospital department of neurophysiology, describes the system as a "healthy compromise" which enables doctors to "narrow down the polysignificance of the EEG changes and the resultant diagnostic uncertainties."

Night and long-term recordings can go on for up to a week. The electrodes are so designed that they do not disturb the patient and can easily be removed from the cable.

The Bremen doctors regard this new system as bringing them a step nearer to being able to distinguish between unexplained epileptic and non-epileptic attacks.

Tests on "elite groups" — e.g. Bundeswehr pilots, showed that about 10 per

cent of those tested had signs of epilepsy according to the EEG. Some of the cramp-prone patients were given long-term drug treatment over long periods — a fate which all epileptics must face. Such patients can only be released for therapy after several years of treatment.

Remote-controlled supervision proved very useful in the case of timid and disturbed children with brain damage which is also a cause of fits. Previously the gathering of essential data was a complex process, which children had to be tranquillised or forced, but not the patients can stay on the ward, often together with one of their parents who is also allowed to stay overnight.

Children no longer have to be dragged through the corridors into the EEG room where they are faced by a fearful array of instruments. Now, once the electrodes have been put on, they can stay on for days.

However, this too will soon be a thing of the past. Bremen East will soon be introducing telemetry, remote control measurement of medical data without cables. This means that the little patients will be able to play in the playground while a small transmitter in their caps transmits the digitalised bio-signals.

Rainer Blocker  
(Die Zeit, 28 March 1980)

## BEHAVIOUR

# Educationists chart the mentality behind school graffiti

Grffiti on school furniture is not only caused through boredom: pupils often express their real feelings in this way.

Hildesheim educationists Norbert Hilbig and Inge Titzze say carvings are often expressions of lack of communication during lessons.

They arrive at these conclusions in a study entitled "Inscriptions on School Chairs and desks — towards a Sociology of Desk and Chair Inscriptions."

In it, they tried to analyse the mentality of the graffitiists.

The unusual thing about the study is that these inscriptions have previously only been studied for their artistic qualities and have more often been photographed rather than analysed.

Hilbig and Inge Titzze, of Hildesheim University, did not get great cooperation from the headmasters of the schools involved.

They were no doubt alarmed that some of the inscriptions would give the schools a bad name. Whenever the fate which all epileptics must face: two look photographs in the classrooms a caretaker was always present.

They criticise headmasters for their timidity, for treating these inscriptions as if they were "school secrets."

Maybe there is something in this. In their analysis, the two authors conclude that these carvings can often be interpreted as "the expression of lack of communication during lessons."



Pupils may turn more and more to scribbling on their desk if the teacher always ignores them when they put up their hands to answer a question, or if the teacher makes them look foolish in front of the rest of the class.

Another factor leading to the isolation of a pupil is that he is often not allowed to talk to his neighbour during lessons.

However, it is normally not a single action by a teacher but the accumulation of a number of apparently insignificant events which drives the pupil to scribbling.

By writing on the desks and chairs and giving expression to fantasies through this medium, pupils not only testify to their boredom or dissatisfaction but very often express what is really on their minds.

According to the authors, these "non-sensical scribbles" contain a considerable element of self-assertion by the pupils. They represent "compensation for the liveliness, warmth, affection and openness to criticism which the teaching itself lacks."

Practically every school desk and chair testifies in one form or another to how strongly pupils feel they are compelled to be at school.

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These climate handbooks are compiled by experienced meteorologists and list monthly statistics for major cities: temperature, rainfall, rainy days, humidity and mention of special features such as fog, thunderstorms, whirlwinds and so on.

Professor Gallmeier explained that platinum has since been used to combat other forms of cancer effectively — including ovarian carcinoma, malignant diseases of the throat, nose and ear and some so-called lymphatic system tumours.

Like other cytostatic substances, however, platinum has a number of serious side-effects, the most important of which is damage to the renal function when used long term.

Furthermore it can affect bone marrow and lead to reduction of the production of blood cells. Finally, there is also a danger that it may affect the hearing.

Asked what place platinum occupies in the treatment of cancer, Professor Gallmeier said that a substance such as

Many desks have drawings which are obviously escape fantasies: ships, aeroplanes, shining sun, palms, islands in the ocean. These drawings are often remarkably similar to tourist brochures and are frequently the work of many hands, being added to by succeeding generations of bored pupils.

Even sayings that seem to be related to one another may not have been written by the same pupil.

But they do indicate similar states of mind and feeling. One pupil takes up where the previous one left off, perhaps because he was moved to another desk.

The tables, desks and chairs thus become a news medium, "wooden newspapers." Pupils record for the benefit of their successors what they think of the teachers, what they think of fellow-pupils and what distracts them from lessons. Among the inscriptions we find football results, love stories, the names of favourite rock groups and various magical formulas against parents and teachers.

On many desks there is a bizarre and disturbing conjunction of love and death in the shape of a cross — as in the case of a desk where the word "Liebe" (love) is written on the vertical part of the cross.

Of course practically every desk has the names of pop stars such as Elvis Presley, Olivia Newton-John, John Travolta and the Beatles.

These stars are free of the compulsions of everyday life, are rich, admired and revered, they break norms and taboos which the pupils must observe — all of which lends them an aura which reaches cult dimensions.

Often, the carvers put their names right next to the names of the stars they idolise. The authors of the study acutely interpret this as "a fantasy relation of their own existence to the existence of their idols."

"The juxtaposition of Elvis Presley with 'I am thick' shows graphically to what conflicts a feeling of inferiority and inadequacy caused during the lessons can lead," write the authors.

The inscription "Connie confused" is, in the considered opinion of the authors, an expression of genuine confusion.

Aggressive inscriptions abound, which are especially interesting "when they shed greater light on causative contexts". Inscriptions such as "Lesson 1: I dozed off after 17 minutes or 'I slept here'"

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platinum complex was not a major breakthrough in cancer treatments and hopes that it was were completely unrealistic.

However, it had brought definite improvements in the treatment of malignant tumours of the testicles, of the ovaries and other forms of cancer.

Professor Gallmeier stressed that this substance was still being tested and should only be used in specialist clinics.

Doctors doing research into platinum as a cytostatic substance now aim to find a platinum substance which is more effective than the complex now being used and has less serious side effects.

Margot Said-Lang

(Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt, 4 April 1980)

indicate, that the pupil thinks there is something wrong with the lesson. It is regarded as a torture, as "time killed."

One pupil even wrote: "Lord, give me strength to suffer this torture!"

These tortures obviously cannot be suffered and the prayers are seldom answered — so the result is aggression or resignation. Such moods give rise to inscriptions such as "I'm going out of my mind"; "School makes you dumb"; and "I'm looking after Nr. 1."

This is a "positive expression" of the fact that the pupil is thrown back on his own resources during lessons he finds boring.

The authors conclude that these inscriptions "provide a narcissistic satisfaction — a satisfaction which the teaching itself fails to provide."

Renate I. Merschar

(Der Tagespiegel, 28 March 1980)

## TV 'a means of reward or punishment'

Ninety per cent of parents punish their children by restricting television hours. They also reward children by allowing them to stay up longer to watch TV.

These are two of the findings of Gerhild Heuer, lecturer at Kiel University and director of a research programme on children and television.

Frau Heuer and her students spent several months observing the TV-watching habits of about 100 families. Parents and children were observed and questioned. Students then analysed daily "TV consumption."

The frightening result: children of pre-school and primary school age who have been good are allowed to watch 95 per cent more TV than children who have misbehaved.

Children who are disobedient are often punished by being barred TV for up to a week.

Gerhild Heuer says: "Our study shows how helpless many parents are when it comes to educational questions."

Up to 95 per cent of the children questioned said they would happily spend less time watching television if their parents paid more attention to them, talked to them or played with them more. Especially prominent in this category were only children.

On average the study found that children watch two hours of TV a day, mostly alone. When parents watch, too, they "do not say a word."

Almost all the children wanted to see programmes where they could really have a good laugh — especially animal stories. Eighty per cent of children said they preferred programmes "where you do not get so excited."

Into this category come "sad" films and TV plays in which family difficulties, fights, rows between father and mother, criminal acts. These programmes are often very distressing for children and psychologically harmful.

Heuer: "Our study shows that adults must help children far more to cope with the medium of television. We have, sadly, found out that many parents simply do not know how great the influence of television on their children can be."

Heuer also said that many parents were failing in their duty by not explaining and discussing TV programmes with their children. Most parents merely regarded television as an instrument of reward or punishment. Roland Hauck

(Die Welt, 28 March 1980)



## CHILDREN

## Age of the money earner arrives, but child labour still goes on

Thirteen year old Christian amazed me when I asked him when he had time to tell me about his job as a newspaper boy — he took an appointments diary out of his pocket.

He got the diary from his father. There are at least two entries for every day of the current week. On Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays he delivers newspapers for 90 minutes after school. On Thursdays and Fridays his younger brother delivers the papers for him.

On Thursdays and Fridays Christian does gymnastics and plays football with friends from his class in the afternoon. On Saturdays he and his brother do the round together — the Saturday edition has 100 and more pages and so his bag is very heavy.

Christian has been having guitar lessons on Tuesdays for the past year — and this means he ought to be practising an hour a day at least. He earns DM120 a month delivering newspapers and with his first month's earnings he bought himself a skateboard. But he needs to consult his appointments diary to find out when he will have time to ride the skateboard.

Other entries in the diary are: a visit to the dentist, a birthday party, looking after his little sister and washing his dad's car, for which he gets DM4. His father saves the price of an expensive carwash in the garage and Christian has

the money for a cinema ticket. Homework? Christian polishes it off in an hour. He is an average pupil.

Children with full timetables like Christian are not at all uncommon these days. There are 4,900 newspaper delivery boys and girls in Hamburg, the largest city in West Germany. Many parents approve of their children working hard to earn money. Educationists and sociologists, on the other hand, are continually against child labour as a creeping evil in our affluent society.

Hanns Bräuer, head of the official in the Youth department of the DGB (German Trade Unions Federation) wrote recently: "Those who call this kind of work child labour are soon contradicted. Parents think 'We had to work hard when we were young and it didn't do us any harm'. The kids enjoy it."

Child labour — not to be confused with activities where no compulsion is involved — has increased alarmingly in recent years in this country. Children are cheap and willing workers. The advertising industry was quick to realise this.

The use of children in advertisements has increased fivefold in the past five years. It is a vicious circle. To keep up with their peers, more and more boys and girls take part-time jobs. The result is that the present young generation has more money than ever before. The

under 14s in this country have a spending potential of DM2bn, which makes them an important target group for advertisers.

The trade inspectors, who are responsible for preventing the exploitation of child labour, know that in the main centres of the advertising industry — Frankfurt, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Munich and Hamburg — hundreds of children aged between two and 17 are made to work harder than is good for them or than the law permits.

The law is that child labour is forbidden. A child for the purposes of the law is anyone under the age of 14. Special exemptions are required for children to work up to three hours a day. Children are allowed to take part in filming for up to three weeks.

Strange to say, it is parents who seem least concerned about their children being overworked. A director looking for a girl to play a small part in a film phoned 50 mothers. Only one said: "I'll have to ask my daughter first." All the others immediately asked about fees, times and location.

Child stars are deprived of their childhood. The more their peers become big-spending consumers, the more rapidly the number of these stars has grown. Concerts by the Teens and the Cherries are mainly attended by children. The admen push the disco group Cherries by claiming that they are the youngest rock group in the country (Their ages range from 12 to 14).

There is little the trade inspectors can do to protect these children. The Länder and not the central government are responsible for ensuring the child-labour laws are observed.

No child is allowed to work more than 30 days a year. But young stars can get round this law by moving from one Land to the next.

Then there is a hair-raising but realistic court pronouncement from the era of the most successful child star of the 1970s, Heintje. The court ruled that the child could no longer be regarded as such; he met all the requirements for an entrepreneur; there could be no question of child labour.

The magazine series on child prostitutes at the Zoo Station in West Berlin has underlined how seriously and literally the problem of child prostitution must be taken. The idol of these child prostitutes is *Pretty Baby*, the child prostitute played by Brooke Shields in Louis Malle's film.

By identifying with her, they can dream their way out of the brutal reality they live in.

Many children also idolise top sportsmen: 25,000 children in this country are now training for top-class sport — in ice-skating, gymnastics and swimming, children set like stars and have to work like navvies. And the chances are that they will do permanent damage to their bodies.

Child labour also has its price in the country, where children have traditionally been required to work from an early age. The hourly rate for driving tractors and milking cows ranges from DM2.50 to DM10 per hour.

Schoolchildren who do nightwork on a chicken farm get DM10 per hour. They start work at night when the chickens are asleep in their stalls. Their



The paper boy: entrepreneur or not? paid worker? (Photo: Gerhard Kießling)

job is to catch the birds and put them in cardboard boxes. The shift lasts 12 hours.

The statistics for 1974 show that there were 3,200 agricultural accidents at work involving children: 17 were fatal. Seven of these were children under 14.

Most of the boys and girls are about their jobs. A 15-year-old girl school girl who earns DM10 an hour and addressing envelopes for an advertising company says: "My boss is quite well out of the deal. The more I give me greater flexibility. I can go for a meal or buy cigarettes. And I'm saving for our class trip to Denmark which costs DM220."

Jens, an 18-year-old grammar school boy, has been working for several years. "I started by delivering newspapers. It's just exploitation, five marks an hour."

He now works in a supermarket. "I got a nice little number there now. The moment I work Fridays from 10 to 20 hours and on Saturdays from 9 to 11 I've got a licence to drive stacks of work in the stores, labelling goods. I get DM7.50 an hour. I don't have to do much doing this work. Sometimes I sit on a box for half an hour and get paid for it."

Jens also plays squash and is training for a national team. He has a friend's parents. What did he do with the money? "I spend it. At the moment I'm saving up for a holiday in Morocco."

"Bread" and "exploitation" are words often heard when pupils coolly discuss

Continued on page 16

## SPORT

## A touch of resentment over ice hockey championship

Mannheim are the new Bundesliga ice hockey champions. But their success has been clouded by feelings of resentment that the rules were bent during the season.

The bone of contention is that five Canadians of German extraction played for the champions.

The situation is summed up by coach Gerhard Kießling, who says that although Mannheim have done nothing illegal, "the league really ought to stop and think whether the trend of using so many overseas players is in the best interest of ice hockey in this country."

This is the 60th championship season, and the first time Mannheim have consistently topped the table.

And the players are not happy about feeling that they now must justify their success.

"It's an absolute disgrace to begrudge us a championship title we went to such trouble to win by virtue of rock-hard comradeship," says goalie Erich Welschbach.

"The present Mannheim team are not going to be a popular championship title-holder," says Markus Egen, coach of Bavarian rivals Füssen.

Kießling adds that accusations are levelled more at league officials than at Mannheim itself.

"Of course our good wishes go to the new champions," he says. "The players can hardly be blamed for the league's statutes. Mannheim has done nothing illegal."

The Bundesliga seems to be overflowing with German Canadians. Five more are under contract to Duisburg. Kießling and Landsjüt captain Alois Schöder are worried they will make it more difficult to groom local boys for stardom.

In Düsseldorf, where second and third teams are entered for the Cup competition, it is growing increasingly difficult to persuade youngsters to put their heart into ice hockey.

Prospects of them ever being selected for the first team seem so poor one can well understand why they feel it is hardly worth the effort. A great many talented youngsters are lost to the sport in this way.

"A foreigner or German Canadian is only worth his salt when he is a really outstanding player from whom the Germans can learn a thing or two," says Gerhard Kießling.

"But no-one this description fits can currently be said to be under contract to a Bundesliga club. If anything, the opposite is the case."

"German Canadian players have learnt their ice hockey in Mannheim, so there can be no question of foreign players improving standards in the Bundesliga."

But Mannheim's coach, Heinz Welschbach, says that two years ago signing players from Canada was the only way he could get a team together.

The club had just been promoted and did not have enough money to move into the transfer market to reinforce its playing staff.

So he flew to Canada and advertised for players who were not going to cost the club in transfer fees. He signed on a good dozen.

"I sorted out the consular formalities for them there and then. They all hold German passports," he points out.

Other clubs suspect some of the Mannheim players slightly exaggerate claims of having German relatives. But Welschbach hotly denies allegations of rigging.

"Everything was entirely above board. The players we had no use for were sold, and the proceeds paid for my trip to Canada."

He will hear nothing of charges that German Canadians are putting paid to grooming colts for stardom by their mere presence. In Mannheim, for instance, youth work is hampered by there being too few ice rinks.

"Now we've won the title the city is going to have to do something about the situation," he says. "Once it has done we shall be devoting more attention to youth work. In Mannheim that is the only way round we can do it."

The first person plural does not exactly mean Welschbach in person, however. He is leaving the club after four years under contract and is said to have agreed to terms with Cologne.

The new Mannheim coach will be Ladislav Olejnik, colts trainer to the German Ice Hockey Association.

But the squad are to stay together. International ace Marcus Kuhl, three times West German championship medal-winner in the last four seasons (twice with Cologne), has been bought back from Cologne for DM140,000.

He was lent to Cologne earlier in the season for a mere DM40,000. But Mannheim are now in the money, with home gates averaging 7,000 and the club accounts out of the red for once.

It has been a good season for the playing staff too. In addition to salaries they have a percentage stake in gate money — between 1 and 30 pfennigs per paying spectator allotted on a performance basis.

"When we play well the crowds pour in, and we want to earn money at the turnstiles too," says Marcus Kuhl.

Ulrich Dost  
(Die Welt, 5 April 1980)



Mannheim, the new ice hockey triholders.



Grosswallstadt on their way to taking the European handball championship, without too much trouble, against Valur Reykjavik in Munich. (Photo: Weisk)

## Record victory in final of European handball title

Reigning West German and European handball champions Grosswallstadt retained their European title by a record margin in a final played to a full house in the Munich Olympiahalle.

The three-time West German club champions beat Valur Reykjavik, 18 times Icelandic champions, 21-12 (9-4) to defend the European Cup they won last year by beating Empor Rostock, the GDR league champions.

It was the 20th European Cup final and Grosswallstadt, a village of 3,000 people near Aschaffenburg, beat their opponents by the widest margin yet: nine goals.

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss congratulated the local team on their memorable double and the folks back home prepared to paint the village red.

True, the GDR, Soviet, Rumanian and Polish champions had not entered this year's competition because of their Olympic training schedule.

But that was not going to upset Grosswallstadt goalie and captain Manfred Hofmann and his squad ("a tower of strength," coach Schmacke called him).

They had seen video films of the semi-finals in which Reykjavik eliminated Atletico Madrid and carefully noted the strengths and weaknesses of the all told somewhat mediocre Icelandic team.

They were taking no chances and made sure they capitalised on what they saw by proxy, as it were, having been busy beating their own semi-final opponents at the time. Goals were scored by all the field players except Udo Klenk, who was a doubtful starter because of a bone splinter.

Kießling, Pfeiler and Meisinger, all capped for their country, scored four goals each. The Cup went back into Grosswallstadt's safe deposit locker.

At least 4,000 fans, many of them from West Germany, were in the Munich stadium.

In the return leg, much will depend on how Yugoslav referees Florvat and Moaneka rate the Spaniards' aggressive play. In Alicante many a foul went unpunished.

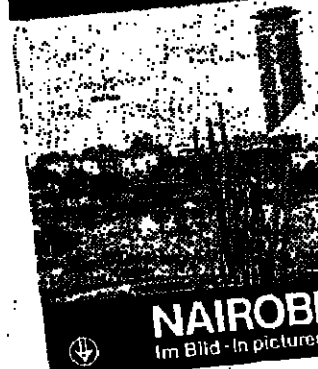
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